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PAINSWICK

Frontispiece

A COTTESWOLD MANOR

BEING THE

History of Painswick

BY

WELBORE ST. CLAIR BADDELEY

SECOND EDITION

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pp. 161—163 insert *Max Clarke.* pp. 220—221 for *Syd. Pitcher* read *E. W. Reed.*

Preface (p. xii.) read *K C B* for *G C B*

Page 13 *Arms*
De Valence read (1) 10 *Martlets* in orle, gules. (2) 10 *Martlets* in orle, gules. Dutton read *quarterly* ; *arg. and gu. in 2nd and 3rd quarters, a fret, or.*

Page 36, line 8, a parenthesis after ' hundred '.
line 9, (*from bottom*) semi-colon and hyphen with parenthesis after *thane* ending after ' *date* ' and next line followed again by *hyphen.*

Page 84 end of 4th line of 2nd paragraph instead of ' *an* ' should be ' *a bordure.*'

Page 156 (line *11* of Manumissio),
for *and* read *aut.*

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD[1]

IN addition to those to whom acknowledgments were made for actual help or valued suggestions given, or only offered, to the Writer, in the previous edition of this work (1907), including the late Dr J. Horace Round, and the representatives of the modern owners of the Manor,—Messrs Ball, Smith, and Playne—he would now record his very special thanks given to the late Sir Hubert Jerningham, Bt. and Edward, Lord Sherborne, to Dr Gee, Dean of Gloucester, to Fitz Roy Fenwick, Esq., (of Thirlestane House, Cheltenham), to the late Mrs Chester Master and her daughters, and to C. B. Trye, Esq., to Rev. Cecil H. Verey, Vicar of Painswick, and Mr E. A. Barnard, of Evesham, and lastly to Mr and Mrs Ellis Marsland,—both for bringing original often-unsuspected material to his notice, and, in some cases, presenting surviving scattered deeds of one sort and another wherewith to enrich and multiply his collection of material.

[1] A final Appendix referred to on p. 58 is omitted; the main substance thereof forming part of the narrative (cf under *Ebbworth*) and the remainder being reserved for a separate Paper.

PREFACE

THIS volume has been written during leisure hours won from other labours (which have not been unhelpful to it) in the desire of recovering from the Past of many Periods something worthy of Local remembrance, but which may have escaped, or may be in the course of escaping, it; and finally, in the hope of presenting this to those who retain and are proud of their Local History. It is none the less the writer's regret that, in spite of not ill-directed efforts, he has been unable to render the work as complete as he has wished to do. It will, however, prove not a little surprising to note what a number of important and even tragical figures have been associated with this (until post-war days) quiet neighbourhood, including those of Earl Godwine; of the great Earl of Shrewsbury; of his ill-fated grandson, Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle, whose tomb, it may be, appropriated by the remains of a later forbidding personage, Sir William Kingston K.G. Governor of the Tower, is still to be seen in Painswick Church. In addition, Lord Thomas Howard (afterwards 3rd D. of Norfolk) resided here, probably at the Lodge, as Trustee for his widowed sister, and he was fined for not taking out a proper license to do so. Later a little, Charles Brandon was acting as Lord of this Manor; while, still later, Anne Boleyn, newly a Queen, smiled briefly through our green woodlands while hunting in the old Park and Longridge Wood with her terrible master, when he was purposely keeping away from London, owing to his (for once) unwilling condemnation to the block, perforce, of his honoured friend, Sir Thomas More; moreover they were here accompanied by Sir John Dudley, afterwards Viscount Lisle and Duke of Northumberland, father-in-law to be of Lady Jane Grey, himself owning a moiety in this Manor, and hunting here in his younger days. Here also, but a few years afterwards, Thomas Cromwell bought out the Lordship from Sir Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle, and had it immediately taken from him upon his attainder (1540), but granted (as he had intended) to the above Sir William Kingston. Presently in his stead reigned as Lady of the Manor, Mary, Lady Kingston, who while wife of the aforesaid Governor of the Tower, had given merciless evidence against her unfortunate and beautiful Royal mistress, their prisoner. Her still more ruthless step-son, Sir Anthony Kingston, succeeded her here (1547), and left behind him a peculiarly evil fame. Later, by above three generations, crosses the beautiful

scene the ill-starred (but not as yet distressed, or at all unhopeful), King Charles, and his two sons, with Prince Rupert; guests obviously of the Manor-Lord and their very loyal and gallant friend Sir Ralph Dutton at the Lodge, the latter an almost forgotten figure now, whose brief career will perhaps be found to stand out somewhat more clearly than hitherto in relation both to this Manor, to the County, and to his King. Prince Rupert as Commander-in-Chief was lodged at Prinknash conveniently hard-by, with Sir John and Lady Bridgman, who had (1628) purchased that estate from the Lords Chandos of Sudeley.

But, while dealing with all these princes and highly-placed personages it has been the writer's intention not to lose sight of the free-tenants and copyholders, and their points of interest, or of the life at Painswick itself, but rather to let this declare matters with as little effort as possible; sometimes, indeed, by means of very humble details and 'unconsidered trifles,' which, however, often carry with them the names and memories of individuals, their fields and fines, as well as the fortunes or afflictions of themselves and the place—just as these ensued. Nor, while so doing, has the material been confined too severely to the Manor and town of Painswick; consequently, here and there, may be found by those who are careful to look for such things, fresh facts relating to its interesting neighbours, the sub-manors of Ebbworth and Edgworth. With regard to controversial points, the writer has been contented to leave Readers to draw their own conclusions from evidences faithfully and (he hopes) as usefully as was possible recorded.

For many of the illustrations the volume is indebted to Mr Edward T. W. Reed, to Mr Ellis Marsland, of Court-House, and, for those of the Tombs at Painswick, to Mr Max Clarke, F.R.I.B.A. For that of Castle Godwin, to my friend Gen. Sir Francis Howard, G.C.B.

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THE MANOR[1] OF PAINSWICK

INTRODUCTION

TO the southward, from the moor-like Rudge, if we take our stand up there on some January afternoon, can be surveyed the purple gloom of slanting woodlands on both the near and far-away hill-sides ; while white villages can be descried nestling here and there in the deep greener hollows. Above them, is spread a pale blue sky, upon which darker and darker masses of cloud are rolling up hurriedly out of the west, while from the winter woods of Standish arises a continuous surge of wind. Over these woods rooks are noisily whirling. Far down eastward, set upon an opposite rise, one descries Painswick a full mile away with its crowning gray spire and aggregated gables, with certain thick woods crowding up above it to the north, toward the lofty hill that is topped with bare ridges marking the walls of the ancient camp (929 ft.).

The positions of camp and town are equally well chosen, although by different races and in periods very far apart. For, while the camp commands the wide Vale of Severn and Tewkesbury, across to Herefordshire and Wales, Painswick is placed, like the Roman Villa near it at Ifold, upon a tongue of land rich in springs as though to be shielded from the north-wind, while facing the southwest and surveying a long valley as far as Selsley and Frocester :— Stroud being entirely concealed from it by folding hills.

Such is the setting, not precisely the scene, that was here familiar to Briton and Roman and to their predecessors of the Bronze Age ere ever Saxon or Norman set foot in England : a woody place among the rolling hills where warriors fought in their tribal warfare, and where perhaps native bards occasionally touched the harp and sang as the glinting arms of the Chieftains passed before them. Many a funeral mound piled upon these crests and uplands formerly attested or even attests the sleep of the Ancient Brave. There

[1] What is a Manor ? (Fr : Mainour : L. Manerium : from manere—to abide.) It is defined as a noble fee held in chief from the King by the lord, and by the last allotted to tenants of various degrees subject to varying conditions and obligations. It may include the lord's House, messuages, arable and pasture lands, villages, woodlands, and the advowson of Church ; and until 1290 portions might at the lord's will become sub-infeudated *manerióla* as did Ebbworth to Walter of Bayeux, (*Cf. Notes and Queries for Oct.-Nov., 1928*). For the Churches were built by lay-owners, for the most part.

is one small round barrow still remaining in a wood-clearing[1] up here at Standish : others are to be traced at Paradise, at Ebbworth and above Cranham, and there was Idelbarrow, near the Portway, upon a knoll close to a Norman mill upon the Salcombe brook and within the Prinknash estate of the Abbots of Gloucester.

Here, too, amid shaggy forest and rocky ridges have once wandered wolf[2] and boar and red-deer (as now do the badger and the fox), and have prowled at night round rude homesteads where to-day flourish strong fields of grain, girt round with thorn hedges, or separated by characteristic dry walls of local stone, interrupted here and there with falling woodlands that summer will presently favour with flowers and abounding song-birds.

If the neighbourhood of Painswick is thus exceptionally attractive by owning these bold natural contours of hill and dale, rolling ridge and dipping combe, it is also exceptionally rich in a two-fold possession—in abundant timber and good building-stone. It is this endowment which has ultimately determined for Cotteswold its own architectural style ; and that is of a character at once interesting and beautiful. The limestone of the Oolite system and its fine yellow sand here lies to the mason's hand often within a few feet of the surface ; and this natural advantage has thus in turn served the Briton for the walls of his stockaded camp ; the Roman for his villas and town-buildings ; the Saxon for his cottages, churches[3] and towers ; the Normans for their castles, Abbeys, and bridges ; and lastly, it has served the later English with their manor-houses, mansions, barns, streets, mills, and everything. There is one charm touching them all, and it is charm of Style.

What buildings, however, have been left to us by our forebears in this region (save neighbouring churches) are seldom to be referred to earlier date than the time of Henry VI or the 15th century, while the mass of them, whether they be in many or single-gabled blocks, or central blocks with projecting wings (*cf.* Court-House)—belongs to the period between Elizabeth's reign and that of George IV exemplifying Tudor ' perpendicular ' style passing into the ' classic ' of the Hanoverians.[4] (*Cf.* Beacon House).

There they stand, stone-walled, displaying their sharp pyramidal gables above storeys into which are inserted successive windows diminishing in both number and breadth of lights,— (sometimes leading to a graceful solitary oval

[1] Broadbarrow. On exploration (by W. Bellows) it contained a cyst with bones and flint weapons.

[2] At both Coberley and Miserden were ' fossæ luporum ' or wolf-pits.

[3] As at Miserden.

[4] Otherwise, late English Renaissance.

one),—having round or hollow-moulded mullions, according to date, the whole finishing in high-pitched roofs covered from eaves-cornice to their ridges with brown stone-slats. The latter are hung upon oaken pegs which sometimes outlast even iron nails. The ' slats ' themselves, besides being well-nigh imperishable afford warmth to the inner house, and give beautiful effects of weather-colouring to the outer one.[1] Lastly, from these roofs rise chimney-stacks which often form interesting studies in themselves, being composed of several chimneys built of dressed stone set together in diagonal clusters, yet each one separated by a thin strip of air from its neighbour, which secures at once the impression of grace, variety, and lightness to what is really both massive and very solid. Besides, there is other attraction furnished by the varieties of gable-end, and yet another in the irregularities of the roof-lines, while the main-walls usually are pressed by Time's fingers picturesquely out of ' plumb.' —But, beware !—It is now 1929 and desperately economic ! They will hope to do away, once and for all, with each of the following foolish features.—(1) the eaves to the roof (2) the labels above the windows ; (3) all string-courses, brooches and plinth-chamfers (4) finally, all mullions and transoms. By so doing they promise themselves rapid business : and merely at some small expense to the landscape. " And, as nobody owns the landscape, what does it matter ? Further, *we* are not going to live in the things we put up ;—so, again what does it matter ? Don't be sentimental, my boy ! Gloucester and Stroud don't ask for Beauty : so why should Painswick, Pitchcombe and Cranham ? Leave all that to the solemn old beaks that gasses at rural-salvation Committees ! Come and 'ave a Drink ! "—And so the landscape vanishes !

If we, however, turn within and behind these quiet gray frontages adorned with labelled, diamond-paned, windows, we often find floors carried by stout rough-hewn joists resting on stone corbels, or, we may notice occasional bits of old plaster-work ceiling, modelled by hand ;[2] and, on the walls on dark cupboards, or on doors, we may notice panels with Stuart mouldings, *i.e.* not set-in (like those of many modern doors) with tacks and painted to caricature

[1] It is worthy of note that the hexagonal stone tiles used by the Romano-British owner of the Ifold Villa are not Bisley slats, but are made of sand-stone brought from over Severn. He either did not yet know of the Bisley slats or he preferred the former. On the other hand, at Chedworth Villa the tiles are all slats of local stone, while those found (1925-7) at the earlier or Temple site in the Wood are of the Forest of Dene red-sand stone. Now-a-days, such tiles may be cut far thinner and need less cumbrous timbers than of old and would add much to the beauty of local roofs.

[2] There are three instances still to be seen in Painswick. (1907). One in an upper room at the ' Gables ' : one, in a house in George Court : and the last in a small lately-restored house in New Street.

oak or maple, but locally carved in the piece. Moreover, there frequently occur quaint or graceful stone fire-places having picturesque flattened arches with flanking figures, deep set into comfortable walls and wearing an ancestral friendly aspect : walls that have heard centuries of Cotteswold gossip and not a few good stories, both of peace and war.

These were the works, then, of the forefathers of those craftsmen (Bryan and his fellows), who fashioned the beautiful tombs yonder in Painswick and in other Cotteswold churchyards ; but for their works the modern speculators are as usual relentlessly subtituting red brick, dark cement, Welsh slate, and Humphrey's iron, with half-seasoned woodwork, cheap glass imported from America and Germany, and sickly ' moonlight ' paint. Ill-names are sometimes too-easily found for light offenders, but it is surely not easy to find one of fitting weight and strength wherewith to stigmatise these destroyers of county ' style,' who gaily appropriate a marked site that is visible for miles, and then set up a cheap and glaring suburban villa that arouses resentful comment from all classes of residents. Painswick used to guard her individuality, and became called (so it is related), like GENOA—the ' Proud.' Let her now redouble, if not her self-possession her self-respect, and allow no more red cottages with black mortar and yellow chimnies to blight her borders, nor coats of oil paint to insult her freestone fronts !

Let us pass on, therefore, to notice points of general interest in relation to the Manor. Owing, in no small measure, to its former isolated situation more relics of manorial rights than is often the case have survived here. ' Manor Courts ' are still held (1918) and ' copy-hold ' tenures are found, carrying the adjunctive right of ' heriot ' or fine (*i.e.* a death-duty in kind), upon either alienation or descent. As did his forbear of old, many a Painswick house-holder occupies his house according to the terms or obligations agreed upon generations ago between some predecessor and the Lord of the Manor, whose conditions, according to established Copy of Court-Roll, the former had fully accepted. Naturally, changes of society continually wrought changes and modifications in the customs of the Estate, and it is recognised that uniformly these changes have proved to be for the benefit of the ' copy-holder,' or tenant of the Lord at Will. The healthy tendency of later English civilisation with regard to law and custom, however, makes steadily for full enfranchisement, that is, for the abolition of ' copy-hold,' as being now a cumbrous, and sometimes annoying, survival of a once serviceable and natural system. [Abolished practically in 1928.]

With regard to the origin of a village on the site of Painswick,—that is to say, as to the actual antiquity of this site as a village,—little can be declared. The distinctively British and non-Roman fortifications on the summit of the

hill beyond it, tell nothing definite as to this point ; though within their walls doubtless there was once a more or less fluctuant hut-settlement. A yet larger and more permanent settlement may have flourished at High Brotheridge but a mile to the N.E. That more than one or two Celtic tribes were successively strong in our neighbourhood is obviously more than probable. Whoever could hold Glevum and its ford with Hempsted Camp was, of necessity, strong. It is equally probable that the latest civilised or Dobunic tribe became peacefully dominated by the Roman Invaders who occupied its chief centre at Corinium and fully glorified while they designedly appropriated (c. A.D. 50) Glevum to serve for their principal ford, and presently (A.D. 96–8) converted it into a civilizing Colonia having probably an extensive 'territorium.' For the practical reason that its former importance perforce had departed the Roman left untouched our vacated old hill-camp. Much later on, however, during Roman occupation of Britain some well-to-do, perhaps official, person (3rd century) planted an extensive Villa at Ifold southward below it, as was done by yet another owner at Witcombe on the N. face of Cooper's Hill commanding the Ermin Way to Birdlip and Cirencester. A third villa arose at Hucclecote, and a fourth and smaller structure disclosed its remains at Brownshill along the Wick Street over a century ago. Over and above all such evidences to hand, in the garden of the George Inn at Birdlip (and from such a selected position shewing its set official purpose), in 1920–1 became located remains of a small Roman-British House and its moulded gate-posts, and hypocaust-tiles and pottery which with much probability we may assign to the *Cursus Publicus*, or Imperial Posting Station of that great Road. There passports will have been examined and passed, tolls collected for slate, and stone, and for cattle, a lame horse even looked at by a '*vet*,' while a '*juridicus*' was ready to adjust any dispute between the Collector and the Merchant.

There is also ground to conclude that this occupation was not merely military, but, upon this side Severn it became in due time very markedly an agricultural one. Its completeness hereabouts exceeded that in most parts of the island. What the Imperial Legions had appropriated beside the Severn was probably but a valuable Dobunic outpost ; the chief oppidum of the Tribe being of course, *Corinium*, otherwise known as *Duro-Cornovium*, later to become the second largest town in R. Britain. That other (or Severn) position (called by its still later British owners Caer Glou), they converted scientifically into an entrenched Roman-British municipal centre, and knew it as Glevum. Caerleon of the Legions and Cirencester, forming an extended military triangle with Glevum, duly and completely secured all our valleys, both main and lateral ; while the mineral region of the Forest of Dene fairly early must have become Imperial property properly secured under its treasury

official and fiscal staff. Its position may largely have determined the occupation of Caerleon as a permanent Legionary Station. That agriculture developed early hereabouts in consequence of such rapid and thorough Romanization need not be questioned; the presence of those highly-developed villas at Hucclecote, Witcombe, Bisley, Ifold, and elsewhere, corroborates the inference; although there is reason to conjecture from the lateness in Roman date of these villas that there had been occasional setbacks, and that martial law was probably retained until A.D. 150, though perhaps only partially. The bricks of the Ifold villa, however, declare by letters R.P.G. stamped[1] in them while they were barely dry that they were procured by its owner and builder from Glevum down in the Vale, while surviving remains of Roman buildings at Gloucester shew that they in turn had been largely fashioned of material taken thither from our Hill. This probably forms the earliest exact evidence of exchanges between Painswick and Gloucester.

The Village of Wyke, in any case, did not occupy the site of any Roman Villa though it became situated not far from one, across a dell, and it was set upon a similar spur of well-watered land, only at some 600 yards westward of it. The presence of abundant wells bearing such names as Washwell, Blackwell, Lullingwell, Shadwell, and Tybby-well characteristically discloses the working of the West-Saxon mind. About this village we only know that in the days of the last Saxon King, or A.D. 1050, it contained the village-community of a very extensive Manor, in the Hundred of Bisley, reached by Roman-British or other small byeways from Frocester, Gloucester, and Cirencester and having several ' tumuli ' or ' Barrows ' (long and round) of various Neolithic, Celtic, and Teuton chieftains conspicuous in its neighbourhood. As Domesday Survey shews that it had a priest of its own in 1086, it is likely to have already had a Church, such as we see far smaller Miserden, beyond it, possessed.

Having the village,—*vicus*: wick, or wyke, of the ' *manerium*' or manor, of the lord, or Thane,—it will be asked, where was the ' Ham,' or Home, of that owner,—the centre, as it were, of the great private estate that owned this village upon it, with its yardlands, (geneat-lands,) its ' geburs ' (*villani*) and ' cottiers ' and ' theows,' (*servi*) or bondmen ? This cannot so easily be answered as was thought likely owing to the survival of the term ' ham ' at Ham-butts, for early forms of that term declare it to relate to the other OE-word *hamm :* or homm, meaning, not a house but enclosed pasture. With one

[1] The stamped bricks found at Lilley Horn field in 1835 bear T.P.F.A. and T.P.F.P. probably ' tegulæ publicæ.' They are now at Waterlane House. Similar ones with the additional type T.P.F.C. were found at Rodmarton, and other examples occur in Cirencester, where it is likely they were all made.

exception, that of Ernisi (OE *Earnsige*) no Thane's name has come down to us as owner of Wyke. It was left for the descendants of a Norman Sheriff and its post-De Laci manor-lord, Pain Fitzjohn, in Stephen's turbulent castle-building reign, to fasten his particular name to it; and this may have been due to his having 'fortified' his Manor House somewhat south of the Church: as well as to distinguish it from other known Wicks. For Pain left no son, nor obvious other means of attaching his name to the place, which, moreover, he had acquired through his De Laci wife Sybil, a grand-daughter of Walter, the great baron of Weobley, part of whose dowry it had formed.

Where the usual acre and half-acre strips of the village-community of this hill-hamlet abruptly struck perhaps the boundary of the thane's demesne-land, or home-farm, they were termed 'butts,' otherwise 'Abutments'; a term we find as early as in the days of Henry VI applied to this spot, as indeed still it is, though the Butts have actually vanished long ago. These level strips, held in villenage, were not divided from one another by hedge or wall, but lay open to the sky and each went with a small messuage or dwelling. The holders, if successful workers, in time came to hold besides these strips portions of the demesne-land at annual rents, and these latter they held as free-tenants, albeit they held their own strips merely as villein-tenants, or, in villenage. All other services and payments by the tenants—of various classes, to their lord, were gradually defined by custom and became ultimately codified into what was known as the 'Court-Roll' of the manor: or a list of various established conditions of service.

That Norman Manor was presided over by a 'Senescallus,' or Steward, who exercised customary authority for his lord. Under him later on became appointed a 'Præpositus,' or Reeve, elected by the body or *homage* of the tenants, but responsible to the Lord for the proper cultivation and policing of his lands. In Saxon days the 'Gerefa' probably summed up in his own office the functions of the later more carefully-differentiated officers of the fully-developed manor.[1] As he was then chosen by the Thane or Lord, and not by the tenants, he answers to the Steward, though also to the Reeve of later days. (Cf. The old English Manor, C. M. Andrews, Baltimore, 1892, pp. 134-6). This personage oversaw the ploughing, sowing, and reaping in the manor, and exacted the proper duties and times, and he duly reported to the periodical Manor-courts the various faults or short-comings of the tenants. Manor-courts, however, can be traced back no further than the 10th century; and then Courts were held, not as during latter times, in taverns, but in the

[1] "We are unable to say to what extent these two varieties of the office of Reeve *i.e.* that of the great man's steward and that of the village headman, balanced or displaced one another." Vinogradoff, p. 193. *Villainage in England.*

Manor-house, Court-yard, or in some hall belonging to the lord. And of these courts there are two distinct, yet merging varieties : namely the court of the Lord, or court-baron, and the court of the copyholders, or court-customary of the villein-tenants. In the latter the Steward of the Lord was the judge ; while, in the former the free-holder obtained the judgment of his equals.

By the developed Manor is meant here to be understood the four tithing-divisions into which we find the Manor of Painswick was portioned out in and before the 15th century : namely, Strode-end, Edge, Sponbed, and Shepscombe. The proportionate growth of these can be surmised to some extent by the fact that in c. 1700 (Rawlinson MSS., B. 323, fol. 202-5, Bodl :)

Stroud-end Tithing contained			48	families
Spoonbed	,,	,,	33	,,
Shepscombe	,,	,,	33	,,
Edge	,,	,,	72	,, = 186 families

as compared with, in A.D. 1495,

or, Strode-end contained			24	families
Sponebed	,,		26	,,
Shepyscombe	,,		28	,,
Egge	,,		40	,, = 118 families[1]

whereas at Domesday Survey, A.D. 1086, the total of male inhabitants amounted to but 66, with 53 teams of oxen and four water-mills working. Cranham although in the Confessors day being a part of the manor had been afterwards cut off from Wyke by the Conqueror and given with one villein to the Saxon College of Prebendaries at Cirencester. (Cf. History of Cirencester).

As to the yarn and woollen cloth, which in time so enriched Painswick from her numerous mills, the earliest mentions known to the writer date back to Dec. 7, 1440. " Item delivered John Morers halfe a ' decen ' of Wyke yeyrne the price xv. pence." " To Gregory of Wyttecombe for 1 li. of blewe threed xiii. pence." " Item, to Sir Thomas Lomys iii yardes and ½ of grene cloth, price the yard vis. 8d." " Item, to Thomas Wymon ffor wollon cloth iiis." " Item to William Michell for 1 lib : Hemps : iiiid." They also sold their products to foreign buyers : " Item to Delahaye to ii. stekys wollen clothe xd." " Item to Thomas Smyth at Albyngate (Gloucester) ii

[1] It is interesting from the above to note the growth of Strode-end and Edge tithing. The latter included the vill of Painswick. At the same time it can be observed that Shepscombe and Spoonbed made but little progress. The conclusion is obvious that the mills on the Wick-water have been a leading cause of the growth of Painswick and Stroud although originally these were only flour-mills. The water determined all things and gave importance to the Miller

Dr J. Seaman's Wing

COURT-HOUSE (S.E. FACE)

facing p. 8

MOOR HALL, RANDWICK, STROUD

(BEFORE RESTORATION)

yardes and ½ quarter of Redde[1] Clothe price the yarde Vs., XIS. IIId. " Item, Margaret Morgan for 1 Apron. IXd."

Such humble items will serve to remind us of the excellence of English-raised wool in days when Spanish law sensibly forbade its adulteration, and when the wages of the shepherd were high,—sometimes as high as £1 4s. p.a. Indeed in the times of Henry VI., or the days of Richard Whittington's sons (at Bisley), hereabouts, our woollen cloths of various colours had already secured a commanding status in foreign markets, and for sixty years wool-merchants or mercers had been permitted to dress like esquires, provided they could shew possession of £500 worth of merchandise, while their occupation had become recognized as placing them socially just below landed-proprietors. The exportation of sheep had been prohibited in 1426, and Edward IV became censured by many for presenting a Spanish Sovereign with first-class Cotteswold rams as a typical English gift.

Since 1362 greater security had been given to trade by an enactment that no further subsidies should be set up on wool without the consent of Parliament. This home-progress, it will be recalled, had been largely stimulated by the violent quarrels among the rich Flemish guilds, which had driven many of their ablest weavers to pass (by leave) over into England and there by royal license to manufacture fine cloths direct from the local wool. Cotteswold sheep as a source of riches were thus surely destined to raise to eminence many English, and also alien, local families, and it was largely wealth thus derived which influenced our more interesting local churches and those architectured houses which have hitherto accounted for much of the charm and rare individuality of style which characterise such towns as Campden, Bibury, Stanton and Painswick, and which the red brick and Welsh slate ' improver ' or the speculative inhabitant, or the ignorant small landowner, in prideless indifference to-day, so often lightly sacrifice together with the glory of the landscape that belongs to every one of us.

Lastly, turning from such superficial consideration of her former pride in a peculiar Trade to her natural loveliness, let us declare that there is no season of the year unmarked by special beauties around Painswick : perhaps not an hour of most days. On a fresh May morning her sloping orchards are silvery with a rising sea of umbelliferous flowers over which apple-blossom stands relieved in roseate clouds, while the long shadows of tall timber trees fall westward athwart the richer pastures and reddish plough-lands. The newly-arrived swifts are seen circling high above the valley, while the familiar

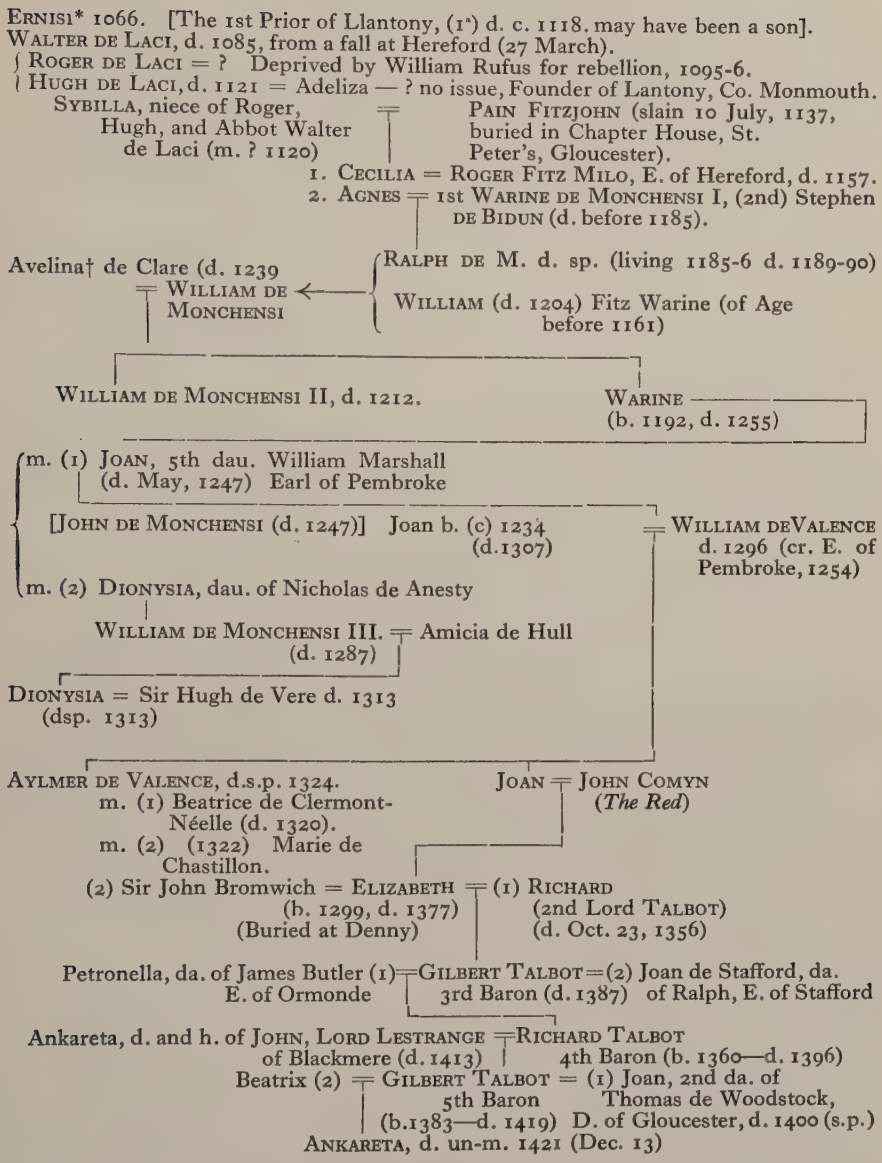
[1] For fuller particulars as to the Red stammells, *i.e.*, linen and white cloth of Painswick, see Chapter XIV. Wool was sold by the Wey 112 sacks.

flap of the wood-pigeon is heard among the fir-trees that possess annual nests. The great slanting beech-woods of Pitchcombe, of the Frith, and of Cranham wear a rich russet shade—that is immediately to be transformed into brilliant emerald.

Or, one may, for contrast, recall some bright winter afternoon, with its lowing of cows and grunt of waggon-wheels along the frosty roads. The trees at the wayside and the woodland mounting behind it are sharp and of a solemn brown, but here and there a few guardian Scotch firs still remain darkly green. The smaller combes are silent and the sun has not yet reached their frost to melt it. From the beautiful hollow below Godwin and Lincombe where Damsels Farm and ruined mill lies with its old cedar and wych elm (felled 1924), the land rises by spur and ridge to the denser Cranham Woods spread along over the higher ground like a purple mantle. There stands the gray well-set little Cranham Church that the later Canons of S. Mary of Cirencester built, and nearer to us rolls up steeply the interesting Salt-Ridge, with Ebbworth above Shepscombe ; while nearer still, the ancient Park-Lodge, that became for over 3 centuries the (second) residential Manor House of its feudal lords, even since early Tudor days, is seen relieved against steep Long-ridge Wood with below it the former Deerleap and Cockshoot. What more fascinating scene ! unless it be some calm twilight enjoyed while walking westward from along the modern (1820-1) Cheltenham road, with a gray haze hanging softly over the valley and in front of us the great elm (felled 1924) at Washwell with (seen dimly beside and beyond it) the spire of Painswick Church framed in upon a lower level under its mantling boughs. But there is, indeed, if not more attractive an effect, one still more mysterious, that may be found by standing some moonlight night in the churchyard among the multitude of trimmed yews and their centurial shadows, broken up by the pearl-gray altar-tombs with their rusting railings. Above these the spire is pointing up in the dark blue night into the great silence that reigns above the spot where so many generations of

' the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.'

LORDS OF THE MANOR


Ernisi* 1066. [The 1st Prior of Llantony, (1st) d. c. 1118. may have been a son].
Walter de Laci, d. 1085, from a fall at Hereford (27 March).
Roger de Laci = ? Deprived by William Rufus for rebellion, 1095-6.
Hugh de Laci, d. 1121 = Adeliza — ? no issue, Founder of Lantony, Co. Monmouth.
Sybilla, niece of Roger, Hugh, and Abbot Walter de Laci (m. ? 1120)
Pain Fitzjohn (slain 10 July, 1137, buried in Chapter House, St. Peter's, Gloucester).
1. Cecilia = Roger Fitz Milo, E. of Hereford, d. 1157.
2. Agnes = 1st Warine de Monchensi I, (2nd) Stephen de Bidun (d. before 1185).
Avelina† de Clare (d. 1239)
= William de Monchensi
Ralph de M. d. sp. (living 1185-6 d. 1189-90)
William (d. 1204) Fitz Warine (of Age before 1161)
William de Monchensi II, d. 1212.
Warine (b. 1192, d. 1255)
m. (1) Joan, 5th dau. William Marshall (d. May, 1247) Earl of Pembroke
[John de Monchensi (d. 1247)]
Joan b. (c) 1234 (d. 1307)
= William de Valence d. 1296 (cr. E. of Pembroke, 1254)
m. (2) Dionysia, dau. of Nicholas de Anesty
William de Monchensi III. = Amicia de Hull (d. 1287)
Dionysia = Sir Hugh de Vere d. 1313 (dsp. 1313)
Aylmer de Valence, d.s.p. 1324.
m. (1) Beatrice de Clermont-Néelle (d. 1320).
m. (2) (1322) Marie de Chastillon.
Joan = John Comyn (The Red)
(2) Sir John Bromwich = Elizabeth (b. 1299, d. 1377) (Buried at Denny)
= (1) Richard (2nd Lord Talbot) (d. Oct. 23, 1356)
Petronella, da. of James Butler (1) E. of Ormonde
= Gilbert Talbot 3rd Baron (d. 1387)
= (2) Joan de Stafford, da. of Ralph, E. of Stafford
Ankareta, d. and h. of John, Lord Lestrange of Blackmere (d. 1413)
= Richard Talbot 4th Baron (b. 1360—d. 1396)
Beatrix (2) = Gilbert Talbot 5th Baron (b. 1383—d. 1419)
= (1) Joan, 2nd da. of Thomas de Woodstock, D. of Gloucester, d. 1400 (s.p.)
Ankareta, d. un-m. 1421 (Dec. 13)

* Earnsige (Saxon Thane)

† Roger de Clare (d. 1173) E. of Hertford m. Maud d. of Jacques de St. Hilaire of Harouet. She had Avelina who m. William de Monchensi (d. 1204) by whom she became mother of William (d. 1212) and Warine (b. 1192) de Monchensi (d. 1255). She m. (2) William D' Aubigny, E. of Arundel, whose son became guardian to Warine (as we see) as William (III) E. of Arundel and after 1204.

Succeeded by her uncle

JOHN TALBOT, Lord Talbot and Furnival (2nd s. of Richard 4th Baron) afterwards (1442) 1st Earl of Shrewsbury, K.G. (d. 1453, aged 65, at the Battle of Chastillon, near Bordeaux).

m. (1) Maud, 1405-6, d. 1421, da. & h. of Thomas Neville, Lord Furnival; and had JOHN, 2ND EARL, K.G. (Killed at the Battle of Northampton, 10 July 1460).

m. (2) (1425) Margaret Beauchamp (d. 1467) eldest da. & Co-h. of Richard Beauchamp, E. of Warwick.

Joan, da. of Sir Thomas Chedder = JOHN TALBOT, LORD LISLE of Kingston Lisle, and, 1452, Viscount Lisle, (Killed at Chastillon, Dordogne, 1453).

Margaret Herbert (1466), da. of William, 1st Earl of Pembroke = THOMAS TALBOT, VISCOUNT LISLE (b. 1443), Killed at Nibley Green, 20 March, 1469, s.p.

ELIZABETH (d. 1487) = EDWARD GREY, s. of Elizabeth (Wydville), Lady Ferrers, and Henry, Lord Ferrers, of Groby. Created Viscount Lisle (jure uxoris), d. July 17, 1490.

Meriel Howard da. of Thomas Howard, E. of Surrey and aunt of Anne Boleyn = JOHN, VISCOUNT LISLE. b. 1479, succ: 1492, d. 1504)

ELIZABETH (1495) = 1st Edmund Dudley (d. 1510)

Sir JOHN DUDLEY* (Afterwards Duke of Northumberland, d. 1552) = 2nd SIR ARTHUR PLANTAGENET (son of Edward IV. by Elizabeth Lucie) VISCOUNT LISLE (jure uxoris) b. 1480. d. 1541.

Henry Courtenay, E. of Devon (1511-39) = ELIZABETH, VISCOUNTESS LISLE (b. 1504, d.s.p. April 1519)

ARTHUR PLANTAGENET, VISCOUNT LISLE (Knighted Oct. 14, 1513, Cr: Visc: April 20, 1523)

m. 2nd HONOR, da. of Sir Thomas Grenville.

He died, 1541, in the Tower of London, though released from custody, and was buried there.

He and his stepson, SIR JOHN DUDLEY,† sold Painswick Manor to THOMAS CROMWELL, E. of Essex (Oct. 1539), (Executed July, 1540), who had promised the Manor to

SIR WILLIAM KINGSTON, K.G. who, dying Sept. 14, 1540, it passed first to his widow, MARY, LADY KINGSTON, d. 1547.

(1) SIR ANTHONY KINGSTON, (d. unmarried, 1557) (Stepson) succeeded her.

* He possessed a moiety of the Manor, and as he accompanied Hen. VIII and Anne Boleyn hunting here at Painswick 1535 July. Presumably he was resident at the Lodge recently enlarged, probably by Lord Thomas Howard, (c.) 1504—8, later 3rd Duke of Norfolk.

† SIR JOHN DUDLEY was created VISCOUNT LISLE 12 March, 1542-3.

By his second wife, MARY, (d. 1547) da. of Sir Richard Scrope (widow of Sir Edw. Jerningham) Sir Wm. Kingston had had

(2) Bridget = SIR GEO. BAYNHAM of Clowerwell, Glos.

SIR HENRY JERNINGHAM = 2nd Frances
(d. 1572) 15 June

HENRY JERNINGHAM, ESQ. = 2ndly his cousin Frances, widow of Thomas Bedingfield, but dying 1619, left by his 1st w. Eleanor Dacre,

SIR HENRY JERNINGHAM, Bt. (1621) = Eleanor dau. of Thomas Throckmorton
(d. 1646)

[Painswick alienated to Farm to SIR RALPH DUTTON of Standish, 1636, as Lord of the Manor, including residence at the Lodge.]

JOHN = (1612) Anne, da. Sir Francis Moore of Fawley, Berks.

SIR HENRY JERNINGHAM, Bt., succ : 1646 his grandfather, but remained under the guardianship of SIR HENRY MOORE Bt. of Fawley, Berks. (who acted as Lord of the manor after Sir Ralph Dutton's death in 1646, until 1665), and married Mary, (d. 1653) da. of Benedict Hall Esq., of High Meadow, Glos. and d. 1680 leaving

SIR FRANCIS JERNINGHAM Bt. b. 1650 = Anne da. Sir Geo. Blount Bt.
(d. 1730)

Margaret, dau. Sir H. Bedingfield = SIR JOHN JERNINGHAM, Bt. (b. 1678, d. 1737)
His brother SIR GEORGE JERNINGHAM, Bt. (b. 1680) m. 1733 Mary Plowden, d.s.p. 1785, dau. of Francis Plowden Esq. (died 1774), and the latter's son, SIR WILLIAM JERNINGHAM, 6th Bt. = Francis, dau. of Henry 11th Viscount Dillon. Sold the Manor 1804 to THOMAS CROOME, of Stroud, and d. 1809, the Lodge and 300 a, being reserved to Edward Jerningham (b. 1774).*

ARMS OF DE MONCHENSI.
Argent, six Barrulets azure or Barry argt. and azure.

DE VALENCE.
Barry of ten, argent and azure, in orle, gules.
Barry of fourteen argent and azure, in orle, gules. William de V.

TALBOT.
Gules, a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed, or.

DE GREY.
Barry of six, argent and azure.

DE LISLE
(*Plantagenet*) Quarterly
1. France and England
2 & 3. De Burgh
4. Mortimer; over all a *baton*, az.

JERNINGHAM.
Argent, three lozenge buckles, gules.

DUTTON, SIR RALPH, Knt., of Standish and Painswick Lodge, 1636-46.
Argent, a fret, or.

* His son, CHARLES JERNINGHAM sold it, 1831, after which half of it was destroyed including the centre front wing (towards PAINSWICK).

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.

BRITONS, ROMANS, SAXONS AND DANES, AND EARL GODWINE

As might be surmised in so bold a hill-region as this around Painswick, abounding with springs of water forming valley-streamlets, various evidences of the prehistoric occupation of central Cotteswold are abundant. There is but one evidence of primitive civilization unrepresented hereabouts, and that is evidence relating to Palæolithic Man. The river-drifts and great caves being absent as well as the gravels associated with them, the implements and weapons associated with those gravels, and into which elsewhere they have drifted in remote ages, are here entirely wanting. It is true that in our vicinity occur casual and extensive pockets of oolitic gravel, in one of which, at Paradise, remains[1] of a Rhinoceros (*Tichorinus*)[2] were found thirty years back, but there is no satisfactory recorded instance of the finding of a Palæolith.

Further, abundant remains of *Elephas meridionalis* and *mammoth*, together with *equus caballus*, and another species of Rhinoceros lie between Barnwood and the Severn, where they have probably represented herds of these great beasts travelling during the summers of the last glacial Age before the gulfstream forced the straits of Dover, that have been partially overwhelmed on their western marches by bursting of vicarious huge dams or by confusing floods, but no traces of weapons occur.

The finding of remains of such animals in our neighbourhood was first noticed in 1634 when King Charles appointed Lord Herbert of Cherbury "*to make inquiry touching the bones found neere Glocester.*" Archdeacon Hakewell says "His Lordship shewed me such bones as he had collected which were an huckle-bone, a peece of the shoulder-blade, some parts his Lordship's opinion was that they were not the bones of a man, but of an Elephant . . . His Lordship told me farther that these bones were found mingled with bones and hornes of diverse other bests . . . The bridge of the nose was that which did confirme his Lordship's opinion, and

[1] The tarsal and metatarsal, or foot-bones. They were given to Mr E. Witchell, of Stroud.

[2] Or Woolly Rhinoceros.

mine too, that it could not bee the bones of a Man. His Lordship further told me that Dr Harvy a great Anatomist had seene the bones and opined that of a tooth, and the bridge of the nose ; all of a huge bignesse ; but they were not the bones of a Man, but of some great beast, as an Elephant : the same was likewise the opinion of Dr (Thos.) Clayton, his majesties Professour of Physicke in Oxford, upon the sight of the same bones which were carried out of Glostershire toward London by the way of Oxford." Apologie of the Power and Providence of God 1635 : (3rd Edit., p. 228).

Such remains at Barnwood lie at a depth of 12-18 ft. in a bed of alluvial sand. Above them lay until recently a 3rd century R.B. cemetery [Cf. Journal of Roman Studies, Vol. X, 1820] that contained over 100 graves, adjoining the Roman road and also some isolated pre-Roman remains of other people, perhaps of the long-barrow period. But their weapons were not forthcoming.

With regard, however, to the Neolithic periods, the case is widely different. Flint implements and arrow-heads, knives and scrapers, with the exception of adzes and axes, are found fairly broadcast over the surface of Cotteswold, though the actual Painswick portion is not especially rich in them ; but evidences of barrows or tumuli, of varieties both long, transitional, and round, containing these, occur at Cranham, Buckholt, Ebbworth,[1] Climperwell, Camp, Bisley, Randwick, Standish (Broadbarrow Green), and at Castle Godwin. In addition, evidences of Pit-dwellings or Hut-circles (once probably surrounded by entrenchments), are well represented at Birdlip, Minchinhampton, and at Selsley and Frampton on Severn, and were once possibly to be seen much nearer at Brotheridge, though their sites have sometimes been ploughed out of existence. Further, the late-Celtic (overlapping the Roman) Age, B.C. 400—A.D. 100 is well represented by the tomb found by a road-mender in 1879 beyond Birdlip, upon Crickley Hill roadside (terrace) which contained an exquisitely enamelled mirror, large and small bronze bowls, and a dagger-haft[2] ; as well as by the contents of the round Tumulus found in 1870 near the windmill on Minchinhampton Common. Many of these objects are now in the Museum at Gloucester, including (1927) the recovered skull of the lady from the aforesaid Crickley Hill tombs, though the late-celtic pottery belonging to these was not saved.

[1] The round barrow at Ebbworth was cut into in 1882. Besides some burned remains, was found a circular cooking-vessel of coarse clay, hand-made, having double zone of thumb-marks about its neck and a very slightly projecting lip. It was blacker within than without, having once contained imperfectly cremated human remains. With these was also found a stone muller or food-pounder, presented to me by the late Mr Cecil Davis, and now in Gloucester Museum.

[2] The blade had been an iron one. These and other objects found, together with one skull are in a case to themselves in Glos. Museum, 1927.

We have assurance, therefore, that several successive races of men have here occupied the same ground, including Aboriginal, Goidelic, and Brythonic peoples,[1] each doubtless modifying the other by subduing, and partly by absorbing, its predecessor :—the flint-civilization, with its (later) hand-made pottery and basketry, coracles, &c, retiring gradually before the people with swords and spears of copper, bronze, and iron, who perhaps brought and certainly used, the potter's wheel,—ere ever Roman armies crossed from Gaul bringing the more fully-developed Age of Iron to these shores, or the potters of Lezoux (*Ledosus*) with their hundred furnaces found a prospering market over here for their polished redwares, especially at Corinium.

When, however, the Roman did arrive, and advanced westward it is certain that he found the Dobuni, a Belgic people of an advanced civil culture in full possession of Caer Glou and Cotteswold, while the fiercer Silures (mixed Celto-Iberic ?) occupied the land beyond the Severn and Wye. In earlier days, Goidelic peoples more than probably had possessed most of the region of which the Dobuni became masters. A Tribal ford of the Dobuni perhaps guarded the river at Kingsholm. The Gallo-Roman soldiers, most of them, used Celtic dialects, and therefore they could be understood here in southern Britain almost as well as in northern Gaul. Probably few save officials boasted Italic, and far fewer, Roman, blood. Negociations must have been carried on in the Belgic speech, introduced before Cæsar's adventure in Britain by above a century.

The simplest study of Roman Britain wherever we may undertake it, makes evident that the one scientific conqueror in his progress, (here unlike the later Norman) placed his permanent camps in strict relation to the development of an already fully fore-thought-out road-system. That system was dictated for him by tactical and topographical necessities. Where it may have suited his design he may have adopted or improved portions of already-existing tribal tracks. Much more rarely did he convert any pre-existing camp or fort, and it is more likely that he should have edited than have actually adopted portions of the vague tribal track or way of any kind. Celtic tribes, on the contrary, formed their camps, defensive and offensive, in relation to local, otherwise tribal and temporary warfare ; one king or chieftain warring against another. Their agressive aims were their own. So little unity was possible among them that Tacitus

[1] We find, therefore, various Celtic stream-names deriving perhaps from various tribes in our neighbourhood, such as Avon, Frome, and Churn and Coln, and Severn. Names are as much to be considered the debris of Tribes and Races as is their pottery : but the Saxon too often has spared only the names of the larger streams : though the smaller ones occasionally disclose their earlier forms in Charters and Saxon boundary-roads.

says, " It is seldom that two or three communities concur in repelling the common danger ; and thus while they engage single-handed all are subdued." (Vita. Agric. c. 12). Hence, while the native camps may have been closely related to one another here and there, sometimes as links in some strategic, but circumscribed chain, they have not formed part of any premeditated wide-spread system, and cannot be reckoned as having been formed or having belonged to any firm organic whole. They have had various makers as well as many masters,—and some of these not without ambition !

Their larger so-called camps were therefore, either their tribal *oppida* or else they were units of pastoral establishment set against both fellow-man and wild-beast; frontier-guarders, no doubt, but not often' road-guarders' like those of the Roman. Moreover, their frontiers were variable. As camps they differ constantly according to situation, in both size and type, and are far from reflecting any uniform design or definite military arrangement. Thus, the pre-Roman invader probably made relatively but slow progress in driving forward his predecessor, just as did the post-Roman Saxon, although both of these made numerous camps. He likewise will have possessed, and have adapted, that predecessor's earthworks purely to suit his own temporary needs. It is, consequently, often impossible to do more than hazard a conjecture as to the real age or the actual makers of early native camps : whereas a Legionary camp is of unmistakeable rectangular design, having observed variability only in size, elaboration, and as to its interior arrangements.

Thus, it falls out that there were many positions strongly, even elaborately, entrenched by various successive inhabitants of Britain the tribal advantages of which did not necessarily commend themselves in the larger vision of the strictly methodic invader. But it has, as at Painswick, and Uleybury been customary at will to call them Roman camps. They lay, for him either too remote from a naturally important route, or they were likely to be rendered quite useless by making of one. Often they lie very near one another, especially when situated along the indented ridge-lines of the hills.

Painswick Camp was a case in point. The General making westward to the Severn (A.D. 43-49) and rapidly carrying all before him, operated so strongly south and north of it, and its fellow camps, that, taking other elements into due consideration we may be sure that he limited himself (if needful) to driving out the occupants from this and a number of their other neighbouring camps, granted indeed that they offered him any serious resistance. But of this we do not certainly hear. Moreover, the Dobuni of Corinium having been partly tributary to the aggressive and tyrannical Catuvellauni north and east of them, would for freedom's sake like their kinsmen of Venta

Belgarum (*Winchester*), have probably sided with the Roman ; all,—that is to say, of the tribe, save possibly one section which may still have been sufficiently independent as to maintain its own gold coinage. But it is probable that all its folk held together and favoured the strong deliverer.

We should bear in mind that the local Tribes were under their own Princes, ruling their own cantonal *oppida*, such as Corinium, Viroconium, Silchester (Calleva) and Verulamium, and they enjoyed these,—but they had no common or Federal capital,—and also that Rome knew the better for this how to turn to account their petty, if fierce, rivalries and dynastic antagonisms, just as she formerly had used with their kinsfolk yonder in Gaul. " What did not succumb to the Roman arms yielded to the Roman largess." (Mommsen.) Whatever trouble may have been in store for her legions and her merchants with regard to the more redoubtable Catuvellauni and the alien Silures, neither the Atrebates nor the Dobuni are evidenced to have opposed or delayed her victorious arms. With much likelihood the Roman possession of convenient Londinium, the more rapid Romanizing of the trading Cantii, and the not long-delayed submission of the level districts upwards toward the Humber, produced timely surrender at least as far as the Severn. It is more than likely that the Silures beyond it had been the chronic enemies of these same Dobuni (differing as they did from them in both descent, language and culture), and that, for this reason the latter, again, like some other tribes, would have played a watching game, and one not seriously uncompliant to the Roman invader, otherwise they would have formed but a ' fell incensed point 'twixt mighty opposites.' In any case, with Belgic Bath (Aquæ Sulis), Cirencester (Corinium) and Alchester in his possession, the Roman could, if necessary, have operated so powerfully over these hills and valleys, by driving their inhabitants down toward the rivers and to those fiercer peoples of (modern) Monmouthshire beyond it,—whom many of their camps had of old been made to face,—that their resistance for long would have been quite out of question. The Roman pottery and coins when found in the local Camps are invariably late in date, and there were serious troubles more than once in Britain during the second century about which we know no details ; to say nothing of those belonging to c. 290-300 A.D. Moreover, these coins and the pottery do not evidence permanent military occupations thereof.

The invading General's decision was to possess the Valley of Severn, proclaim martial law, and to secure the mineral region beyond it to the Wye, even up from its mouth,—and the Bristol Avon. For this purpose he secured the cantonal—centre or brain, of the Tribe, at Cirencester, and the ford of the Severn at Glevum. Already by A.D. 49 his forces occupied

and mined the Mendips. There are the best reasons therefore for believing that the Dobuni made no resistance and were content to assist in crushing their rivals and oppressors : through whose territories the Roman, forthwith, cut his Akeman Street as a frontier-road in the form of a bow pointed northward, the string of which stretching from Corinium NE across Windrush and Evenlode to Alchester thence fell in similar curve down upon Verulamium and Watling Street. His central arrow thus was pointed direct from Calleva (*Silchester*) through Dorchester and over Alchester : and the outposts of the Akeman Street accordingly were faced north likewise. There are reasons however, for concluding that its frontier-character cannot have been long-lived. The upper Foss-way superseded it.

The Native stronghold near Painswick, therefore, with its rather magnificent ramparts and ditches, after reduction or surrender of the surrounding neighbourhood by the invaders, does not afford evidence of having been modified or rendered suitable in any way for possible military purposes. Further, it was left by its new masters equally unaltered in shape and structure, with its parapets of stone and a central pond or reservoir, and its two characteristic entrances, one towards the present Gloucester road (but now nearly obliterated), and one at the eastern flank above Godwin and the invaluable water-springs and the barrows there. Let us proceed to prescribe it.

Painswick or Kimsbury Camp (O.E. *Cynemeres beorh*), consists of an elongated triangular 3-acre space crowning the summit of Painswick-ridge, following the natural lines thereof, and forming a striking object. It is pitted and scored by mediæval and far later quarrying operations, and it stands at 929 feet above sea-level, having its base to SW. By country-folk it is known as ' The Castles,'[1] also as The Beacon, but formerly (1604) as Hawking-hill. The northern or Gloucester vallum has been so extensively quarried away as now to be barely recognisable ; but the starts of two ditches remain at the western angle, and that angle was rounded or obtuse like the other angles of the enclosure.

The south-western flank being the best preserved portion its sectional measurements will serve to represent those of the damaged sides. It consists, then, of three successive ramparts including two deep ditches (*fossæ*). The outermost rampart attains a present height of 9 feet above the ditch behind it. From its summit to that of No. 2 measures 63 feet. Its base covers 35 feet.

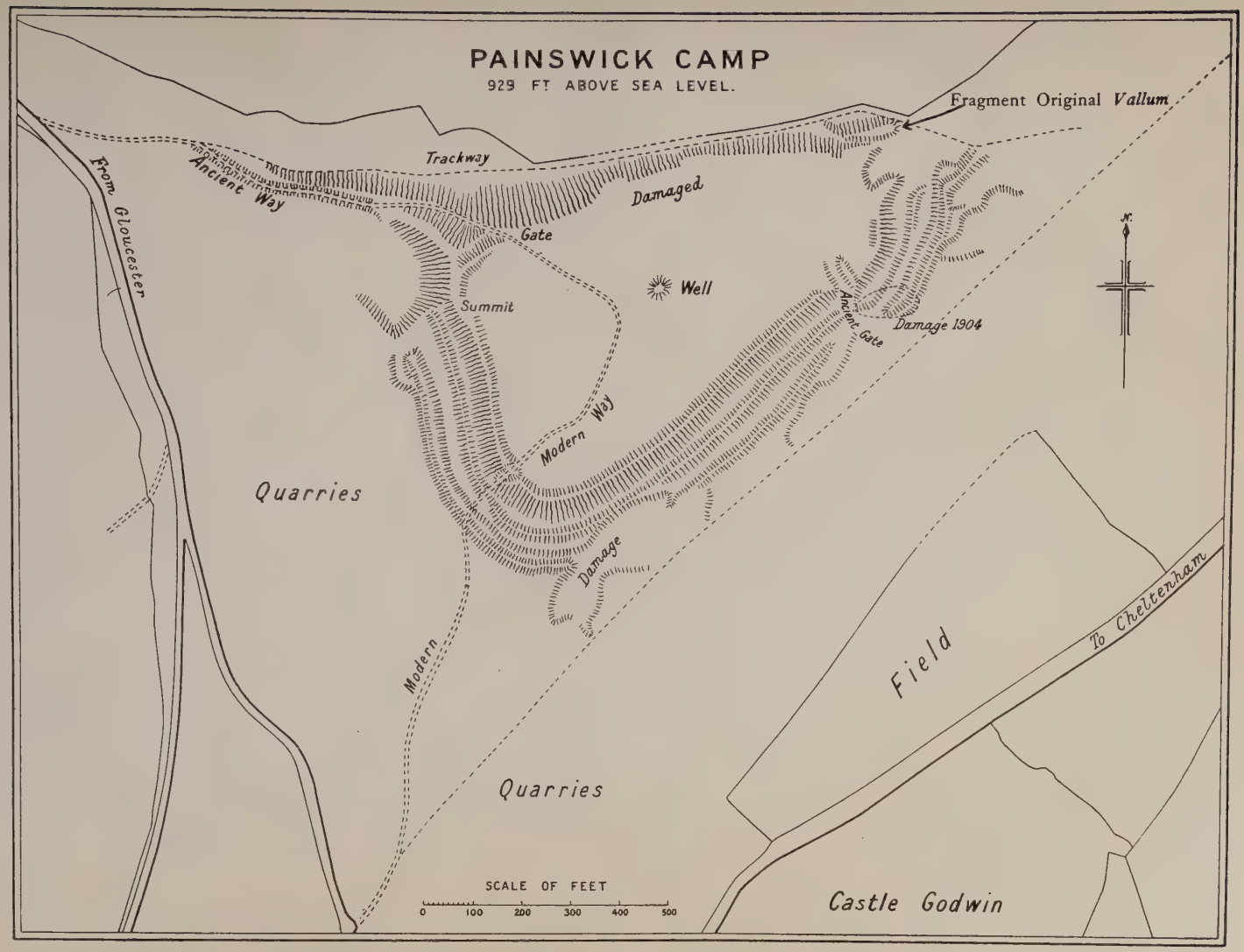
From the summit of No. 2 to that of the innermost (or No. 1), measures 76 feet. This latter attains a height of 15-25 feet. It, moreover, possessed a

[1] *i.e.* the fortified place.

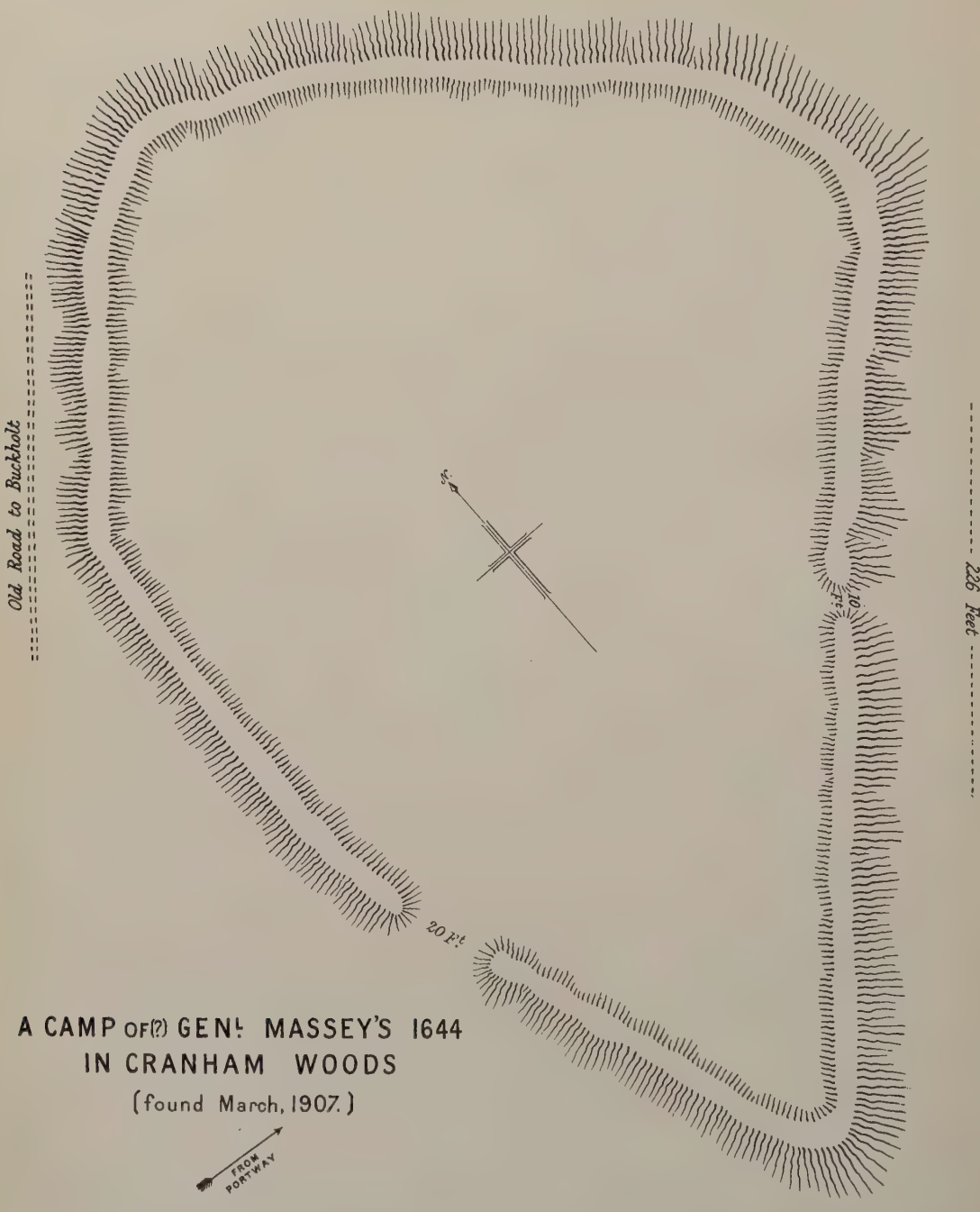
dry-walled core and parapet 6 feet in thickness. Its companion likewise has a similar core of large stones, and in one place it has at a late period been purposely widened into an emplacement platform 30 feet wide. This fact, taken together with the size of its reservoir, discovers to us how strong and permanent it at least was intended to be, albeit its areal capacity was but modest.

The entrance to the camp on this SW side is not an original one, but is the work of quarrymen from Painswick some two or more centuries ago, or in part possibly, of soldiers during the Civil War. It bridges the two ditches, has been cut through the cores of the successive ramparts, and can be traced into the inner area. Much of the quarrying within this has been done long since the road was made, and it has left the road itself to represent a former vanished level of the camp floor. Mounds that rise to higher levels therein consist of debris, and have been thrown up within, and they do not indicate ancient levels.

On the eastern flank it once possessed similar features, and at the south-east occurs its principal entrance, or watergate, just above Castle Godwin, which was well preserved until May, 1906, when the writer made an apparently successful appeal to the good sense of those who were fast destroying it in order to mend the Stroud Road. The promise then made, to find the stone elsewhere, has (he regrets to have to record) not been kept, and the destruction of this valuable point of the defences is (1911) still proceeding. [In 1912 it was, however, brought to a stop.] The traverses, if it had any here, have recently disappeared. In form, the camp closely resembles that at Mam Tor in Derbyshire. The (doubtfully) ancient reservoir, in good preservation (a rare feature), lies towards the centre, is circular, has owned as much as 15 feet in depth. No early pottery has been found inside the Camp, though a bronze spear-head, and some Roman coins were reported to have been found a hundred years back near it; but nothing is recorded about these, neither could the finding of coins prove military occupation. The few asserted coins brought in later days have invariably proved to be pennies of George III or of Jacobean date. Part of the army of Charles I is recorded to have passed a soaking night on the Hill, September 5th, 1643. A stiff shallow line of charcoal found some years back by quarrymen on the outer slope to the Gloucester road was thought to relate to this episode. In *Sept.* 1921, however, while making a lawn to his bungalow-cottage (just below the north-west angle of *the camp*, or *Kimsbury* side of it), Mr *Gorton* was fortunate enough to a find a good bronze harp-shaped *fibula* of late-*Celtic type*, having an attachment ring for a chain, together with some coarse British black pottery, and also some 3rd cent. Roman ware. The workmen later on confirmed that they had found a skull there a little time back. This is an authentic find.


PAINSWICK CAMP
929 FT ABOVE SEA LEVEL.
Fragment Original Vallum
Trackway
Damaged
From Gloucester
Ancient Way
Gate
Well
Summit
Ancient Gate
Damage 1904
N.
Modern Way
Quarries
Damage
Modern
To Cheltenham
Field
Quarries
SCALE OF FEET
0 100 200 300 400 500
Castle Godwin

facing p. 20


166 Feet
Old Road to Buckholt
226 Feet
20 Ft.
A CAMP OF(?) GEN.L MASSEY'S 1644
IN CRANHAM WOODS
(found March, 1907.)
FROM PORTWAY

FULHAM PUBLIC

Just below that site lay the estate of *Elgar de Kimsbury* (1120). For, there is good water here, and the first field below *Mr Gorton's* shows tokens of ditch-lines of a former (moated) habitation. *Elgar* lived in the time of *Henry I*: but his descendants were still thereabouts until the 13th and 14th century, owning all '*Undercombe*' or '*Yendercombe*' which extended toward *Popeswood*. *Pope*, from whom the latter wood took name, lived under Henry III and Edw. I, and was probably one of a family of estate-Bailiffs.

If, however, (as we have shewn) Painswick Hill can have presented no military advantages to the Roman (who at no time intended using the escarpment of these hills as an amateur-frontier) it is not to be gainsaid that its agricultural and other resources met with full recognition at his hands; and it is not surprising to learn that evidences of peaceful or civil Roman occupation have been forthcoming in its neighbourhood.

After having been possibly, but for a generation or so only (until c. A.D. 60-75), a guarded river-post of the Second Legion, at the close of the first century (c.) A.D. 97-98 Glevum became raised to the rather coveted dignity of a Colonia. The river-fort and market thus in time grew to be a specialised town. There were in all but three such others eventually in Britain,—York, Lincoln, and Colchester. Lincoln was the latest. Ours was the sole example in the West.

First, then, a temporary Roman garrison (we may conjecture) had occupied the important Severn ford belonging to the west-central region of the Dobuni. Next, traders settled there both for protection and for business together with discharged soldiers, outside the camp-gates. Thirdly, this populace under organic Imperial administration and acquiring Latin speech, costume, and arts, became methodized, and finally it was granted (apparently by Nerva), municipal and social privileges on the Italic model, together with an elective Senate and magistracy, all which was well-calculated to advance the process of Britain's Romanization. Entrenched Glevum, at a later period becoming partially strengthened with a wall of hewn stone (fortunately re-discovered by the late John Bellows), at least upon its eastern side,—covered an area 510 × 435 yards, or slightly smaller than Eboracum, or York (550×470). Hempstead as its natural outpost (200 × 110 yds.) covered 4-5 acres.

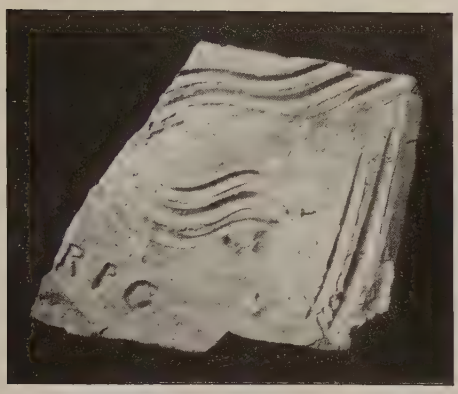
This is to say, the settlement became granted a Constitution framed upon the LATIN model, so that its citizens, the veterans from the Legions and their families, enjoyed the 'Jus Italicum.' It does not follow that any of its officials were actually of Italic, far less of Roman, birth. Inscriptions in Britain prove that whatever origin higher officials here and there owned, the Roman legions settled here were (as might be surmised from their provenance)

largely composed of Gauls, Teutons, Spaniards officered by Italians. Even the Emperors now ceased to be Romans. Such Coloniæ were thus established, on the one hand, as making suitable provision for time-expired soldiers and civilians ; while, on the other, they were designed to become centres of control,—'bureaux' for inoculation of the more prominent natives with Roman law, arts, manners, and customs, while their prime temple was dedicated to the Genius of the Augusti. Judging from a funeral monument now in Gloucester Museum, the citizens there wore long collared cloaks and braccæ or breeches, and cloth head-dresses. The Second Legion (Augusta) having been able to leave Glevum and Corinium occupied Venta Silurum (Carwent), and soon moving further into Cambria (though with serious difficulties) under Sextius J. Frontinus, A.D. 73-78, it became permanently stationed at Isca, now Caerleon-on-Usk (Castrum Legionis), about 10 miles yet further westward : a site at last (1927-9) being admirably excavated by Dr and Mrs M. Wheeler and others for the Society of Antiquaries. With a Legion there, another at Chester (Deva) and Viroconium between, and a few small stations set between these, Cambria the place of perilous mountains and town-less hill-tribes became cut-off and permanently kept under martial law.

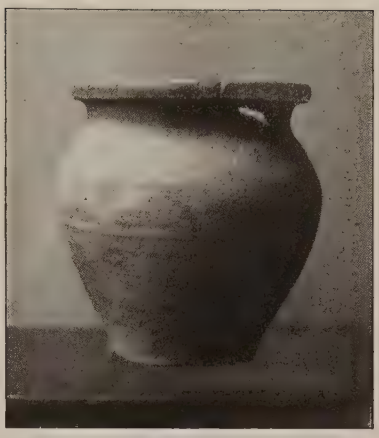
With Glevum as a Colonia, the land stretching around it must have been presently converted into its own proper 'Territorium.' How far this Territorium of Glevum extended is now past determining ; but the exploration of the remains of the villa at Ifold, some 900 yards (s) from the British camp, and rather less distance from the present town of Painswick, and containing Roman tiles stamped officially R.P.G.[1] (Respublica Glevensium : Commonwealth of them of Glevum) proves that the owner of the villa built it with tiles that had been made there ; while the very various, though ill-recorded, discoveries made within the area of Gloucester, of Roman columns, capitals, and altar-stones, show that the material used came chiefly from the hill in our neighbourhood, which, indeed, has been quarried ever since, for Norman Abbey, for later churches and hospitals, for houses, and for the local high-roads of the 20th century. It is quite possible that the original builder of this Villa may have settled on this upland in connection with superintendence of such valuable quarries and cornlands. The site is preeminently a picked one and became one of the demesne-lands of the later manor here.

Occupying some of the richest land in the district it is probable that as

[1] The first discovered example of this stamp was found in Gloucester, (February 9th, 1895), at 13 feet below the present level, upon the site of All Saints' Church. (Cf. Trans. Bl. Glr. Arch. Soc., vol. xix. p. 155). Sparse remains of a Villa at Hucclecote in 1910 yielded other examples of this stamp.



STAMPED ROMANO-BRITISH TILE
PAINSWICK VILLA, 1903



BUFF VASE
FROM PAINSWICK VILLA, 1903

ANAGLYPH (1)

ANAGLYPH (2) Inscribed

FOUND AT CUSTOM SCRUBS, SLAD, C. 1799

facing p. 22

APSIDAL HYPOCAUST, PAINSWICK VILLA, 1903

elsewhere both wheat, wool, and cattle were raised for the owner of Ifold Villa by his half-serf ' indigeni.' Such estates were often bestowed as rewards for services upon Romanized native officials as well as upon retired legionaries, and they were thus calculated to become active as sub-centres of civil law, husbandry, and culture. For where they were established labour was organized. " The owner in the later days of the Empire had the power of a Municipal Decurio in regard to the collection of taxes and calling up of recruits for the army, and appointment of priests. . . . Perhaps the decay of the Villa was due largely to leasing it and sub-leasing it, and to the loss of authority over labour. . . . The fourth and fifth centuries were ones of social and economic crises." (*Vinogradoff*, pp. 72-3 *villainage in England*). The Villa must have been connected by a track (probably through Holcombe) with Glevum, and this latter (we think) lay only in part touching the line of the present Gloucester road and crossing it near Upton Hill before its descent: but it cannot now be traced across the present road there owing to modern house-building and agriculture.

The coins found at Ifold and at many other points of this Manor, have been chiefly late-Imperial, although one Consular coin (of uncertain provenance) has been found and brought to the writer, also a denarius of Augustus bearing the legend ' *Pax Armeniæ*.' The coins found in Romano-British Villas and Roman Camps naturally more often belong to later than to earlier centuries of occupation. For the more ancient coins were finer in type, and far purer in metal than the later Imperial ones ; consequently they were the better taken care of. Moreover, later mintages (and these were sometimes local ones), poured out floods of ' minimi ' (or small-change) and debased denarii, to say nothing of fraudulent coins sufficient to out-number the chances of worn-down, though better designed, ones of former centuries.[1] It is probable that with ensuing decay of the neglected roads and violent crime none of the Villas in these parts survived as such until within a century and a half of the crushing Saxon triumph over the British Kings, Kyndidan, Kynmægl and Farinmægl, at Dyrham, towards Bath, in A.D. 577. Yet, until that late date Romano-British civilization (probably again under local chieftains though doubtless reverting more and more to Celtic ideas) had prevailed,—it being already one hundred and fifty years after the departure (A.D. c. 420) of the re-called Legions. The singular fact of three Celtic Kinglets being found fighting in organic concert against the foe has been overlooked we think as valuable evidence of surviving Roman tradition.

[1] The finer coins were probably melted up occasionally in order to spread out superior metal over a debased new mintage.

The known finds of British gold and silver coins nearest to Painswick have occurred at Sapperton, Trewsbury and Uleybury. All these coins date from before A.D. 50. Roman Gold ones have occurred at Pinbury, Tunley, and Cirencester.

In the Ifold Villa, oriented north—south, and situated upon a descending tongue of land commanding a noble prospect down Painswick Valley as far as outlying Rodborough and Minchinhampton,—the so-far explored remains lying not under the farm itself seem to evidence a courtyard and corridor—or combined type. As it has been described in the Transactions of the Br. and Glou. Arch. Soc. (vol. xxvii., pp. 156-171) a few further remarks will suffice here.

In a band across the one remaining wing of the Villa lie its baths,—the Hypocaust and Furnace being placed north of these. Some flanged tiles found in the former were stamped as before-mentioned. Eastward a little lay a room having a mosaic pavement not of the latest, nor of the earliest, type and technique, but such as might suit with the time of Severus, say A.D. 200 and onward. The older materials of the Villa (for it evidenced later alterations here and there) were notably good ; as also were tiles, ' opus-signinum,' wall-mortar and painting. Doubtless, the vanished timbering corresponded to this, for the British Celts were held to be ingenious wood-workers both in Cæsar's day, and long afterwards : for Eumenius tells us in the 4th century how Autun was to be rebuilt partly by British artisans. (*Panegir* : *Constantino Cæs* 21). The hexagonal tiles of its roof, instead of being made of local Bisley slat, were all of red-sand stone from the forest of Dene, contrary to the general use of Villas upon these Hills, and these were of three sizes. Among the objects found were a pewter pot with a band (of triangular section) for its handle. It measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. Small pieces of window-glass : a double-handled glass decanter : iron stocks and hinge-bands, *mortaria*, &c., were also present. Further remains of the villa have been since located nearer to the Farm buildings (1907) and probably lie under most of them.

The Roman main or official roads in this locality suggest among other things that the fruits of the great military success at Dyrham in A.D. 577 might have been reaped by the Saxons without great difficulty, and in a short time ; but rapidity of movement was not a qualification of the Teutons. For (just as it had taken 137 years of West Saxon conquest and occupation to reach and capture Bath, and nearly 60 years to appropriate the 30 miles between Old Sarum and the sea), Exeter was not taken by them until A.D. 926. They therefore did not make what is called ' a clean sweep.' The old Silures and their mixed kindred on the Wye and Usk had not forgotten their

R. PAVEMENT, IFOLD (FARM) VILLA

facing p. 24

FULHAM
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traditions, for they kept the Saxons completely in check all through the Monarchy, not merely preventing Offa's invasion of Gwent, but compelling him to keep the lower Wye, and not the Usk, for his frontier-line. Their natural progress under these circumstances became a northward one, and the Hwiccian Saxons became established between Bath and Shropshire about and across the Severn.

Roman sub-roads, or *deviæ*, in the neighbourhood of Painswick are of course as difficult to be sure of as the greater roads are easy. The presence of the word *Street*, and *stan*, as in Stanway, *i.e.* the paven way, are our only guides, taken into cautious reckoning with the depths and directions of the lanes and with the positions, respectively, of such known Roman sites as are Witcombe, Woodchester, Cirencester, Frocester, Haresfield and Gloucester. At any rate, *street*, invariably denotes an ancient way or track. Villas do not count for much, for they were seldom placed beside an official road ; yet they too had tracks leading from them that under favourable conditions of light like worn-down inscriptions may be yet made clear, now and then, as at Chedworth Villa. And these tracks perforce led to greater ones, as does the Chedworth example to the '*White*,' or '*Stanway*,' from Cirencester,—that was already *Ealdan stanwege*, c. A.D. 800.

In order to pass up and utilise the fertile valley of Painswick, the Wick 'Street' (coming perhaps from Stanley and Frocester) having crossed the stream at Stratford rose via Brownshill (a R.B. Farm) and mounted Juniper Hill above Well Farm. At site hardby Stroud known as *the Grange*, in 1866-7 the late Mr. A. Paine found remains of an *amphora*, black glazed ware and imitation *Samian*, pieces of hypocaust tiles, a limpet-shell, some coarse native pottery, and many teeth of deer, boar, and sheep. The Wick Street in far later times was continued onward to Painswick, much as the road now runs, turning and dropping by Steppingstone Lane to the stream, and thence mounting by Stamages to New Street.

Reverting to 'Stratford,' near Stroud, probably a bifurcation once took place in its neighbourhood also, and, from near it a track rose up the hill toward *Standish* woods, which made for the escarpment.

The other local roads leading to Gloucester that can claim any antiquity owed their being, at least in part, to two of its rich Monasteries possessing farms quarries, and woodlands hereabouts, which after 1150 exacted practical thoroughfares for their products. Such were probably the *Catway* and *Schiringesway* at Pitchcombe, mentioned in documents of A.D. 1290. The Monasteries and Lords of Norman manors generally may be regarded as professional track-makers. We find wealthy land-owners such as Sir Wm. Nottingham (1483) leaving distinct sums of money in trust for road-repairs

outside Wotton and Cirencester. The rich Bishops of Worcester will have had much to do with the Crickley Hill, (Northleach) section of the Oxford road : so much used for centuries by the Drovers,—that traversed their extensive Withington property,—hence, the various *Kilkenny* taverns.

Of these mediæval or more ancient roads, there remains, besides that leading along the escarpment above Holcombe, a good example (at least a portion of it), belonging to the *Stockleyway*. Making for a descent of Upton Hill, it passes down the bottom of the small coombe below Cud Hill Farm and crosses the fields as a direct ridge. This measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in width and is built up with stone-cobbling, which may well be Romano-British work. The Gloucester convent of Llantony for four centuries held a considerable property in the valley between Painswick and Edge, together with Combe House, now vanished ; while the Abbey of St. Peter's, Gloucester, after 1086, farmed Scotts-quarr and the land lying west of Horsepools, with all Standish, as well as Prinkenash Park, part of Buckholt, and after (c) 1205 a sub-infeudation manor at Ebbworth. It is only by taking such facts into account that we can hope to form an opinion,—even then it will be a conjecture rather than an opinion,—as to the real origin of these old local roads. But Painswick felt the double pull of Gloucester and Cirencester from early days.

The most important or public road, dominating the entire region, was naturally the Ermin[1] Street, which connected Glevum with Corinium by passing on to our ridge and the plateau at Birdlip. But that road did not originally mount the hill in the present abrupt and awkward manner. Before reaching the bottom of the steepest ascent it turned southward of the present road across what is to-day a field. It then mounted by a bold traceable series of zig-zags, now covered by woodlands. The rocky turns and returns of the exposed angles have been mistaken for the traverses of a British camp, even as the terraced Roman Villa at Witcombe, (ruined by official obtuseness 1913-15), hardby, has been erroneously ascribed to a mere Roman posting-station. The central tank of the Sacrarium found by Lysons stood unprotected until it broke up in 1927. The road was altered by drastic, but falsely-economic, repairs done in 1698.[2] and later again (1739) when it had fallen into a desperate condition. It is far more dangerous than of old it was.

On the face of it, the track connecting Buckholt and Birdlip along the

[1] It was considered by Grimm to have been Eormenstræt. Henry of Huntingdon calls it Erningstreet ; but its origin has well been made out as named from the Huntingdonshire *Erninga*-folk whose name first became attached to their local Roman-British road to the North. *Cf. Pl-N. Bedf. and Hunts. Pl-Name Soc : Publicns.*

[2] Cf. Act of Parliament, 1697.

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WEST TUMP (*Long-barrow*) CRANHAM WOOD, 1881

facing p. 27

escarpment ridge would have been that necessary to the Abbots of Gloucester, and especially to the Priors of Cirencester, who respectively came to own Prinknash, Ebbworth and Cranham. The earliest editions of this road can be traced from Cranham and Prinknash corner running beside it on the left hand. But the presence, first of High Brotheridge intrenchments, the Buckholt barrows, and then of the long-barrow of West Tump above Cranham, suggests for it a very early tribal origin as an army-road or *herapath*.

Probably all the camps and intrenchments (such as Brotheridge) along the Cotteswold outer edge above this locality were interconnected by continuous rude 'tracks,' in days prior to the Imperial age, and belonging at least to the early Iron Age.

There is one other medieval track of undoubted importance, called the Portway, leading from Cranham and Prinknash downhill direct to Gloucester. This is an old borough-road leading from this fertile valley to the 'Port,' or borough of Gloucester: its natural market-town. Further, as a direct quarry-route between Gloucester and our Hill it must have proved invaluable. Robbers knew it. The woodland (Popes Wood, 13th cent.) at its start evidences ages of extensive quarrying, long since overgrown, and some Civil war (?) levellings for defence.

The word Port,[1] from L. *Portus*, a haven, became applied to certain inland towns wherein markets resembling those at the chief Harbour-towns had become established. Thus, Gloucester was a town which had a Portman-moot, or Borough-moot, not seignorial, but presided over by a Port-Reeve. It had also a field appropriated to the Borough and called Portham.

Here may be mentioned in passing to the Slad[2] Valley, a small once-entrenched position, perhaps the site of an early settlement near the crown of Longridge Wood, which has escaped previous notice.

In 1799, while moving stone in a quarry cresting Custom Scrubs, across the Slad Vale, there were found four well-preserved Roman votive reliefs or anaglyphs. The small quarry in question had laid open the terminal slope of a great spur overlooking the entire valley westward and known to-day as 'Roman Tump.' Coins of the Emperors, and (in 1851) yet another votive tablet-relief, have since been discovered there, which make it certain that more might be expected. The site is one of exceptional grandeur, having a deep-wooded combe on either hand beside it; and of itself it strongly suggests a possible site of some local shrine. Moreover, if there was a Roman-British one here, it probably succeeded a British one. (Cf. Trans: Br. and Glos. Arch:

[1] See the next section.

[2] SLADE = a slope or slant: cf. SLIDE.

Soc. vol. xxix., pt. 1). From it, on a clear day, can be clearly descried over Bull's Cross the camp on distant May Hill. The character of the sculptures may almost decide the point.

The first of these Reliefs, carved in the form of a pedimental niche, represents a Roman soldier full-face and full-length, in military costume, holding his spear (pilum) in his right hand ; and his left hand grasps the upper rim of his oval shield, which rests upon the ground. Beside him stands a small altar on which is a double horn of plenty (cornucopia). Above him to the right and left run the remaining letters of the dedicatory inscription DEO ROM(ULO) AUG(USTO) VELOEPIVS DONAVIT JUVENTINUS FECIT=To the God Romulus Augustus Veloepivs gave (this) and Juventinus made (it.)

Here then we have a dedication to the God Romulus (identified with Imperial power) by a provincial officer, probably of the late 3rd Century ; and happily the name of the artist is given with it.

The figure standing thus under the dedication, within its stone frame, may be considered above the average of its class in technic. It measures 14 inches in height, and is habited in the typical accoutrements of the Roman warrior. He is girt with tunica (lorica) and subucula, not descending below the knees. Around the waist is worn, with a large central buckle, the cingulum, into which is fastened on the left side the short sword,—the belt seeming to pass through an invisible loop behind the sheath. Above the thick rounded head of the sword-handle is seen the sagum or (plaid) crossed over the breast and passing from the right shoulder on to the left arm over the elbow-joint, that arm being extended freely to hold in place by its rim the long ovate (damaged) shield, the central boss of which is just apparent. The opposite or right arm holds at rest an upright lance (pilum), having a peculiarly thick socket to its broad head. At the neck is worn a graceful collar of radiating metal (?) plates leading to the continuous hood, apparently made all in one with the helmet and framing round the entire visage. The helmet[1] (galea) is of rather an unusual form, and part of the central (plumed) crest (crista) is worn away ; but at a short distance from it, on either side arises another ridge-crest of well-rounded form set too high upon the head to belong to the hinges of the visor or the cheek-pieces. Below each of these projects a large curven ornament, like a wing, somewhat giving the effect of a volute. These lower projections may be intended for the metal neck-rim, but they are placed unwarrantably high, as high as would be the wings on the helmet of Roma, or on that of a Gladiator. The circular knobs moreover above these can scarcely belong to the

[1] Cf. the fool's cap of xiv. c.

visor.[1] The cheek-pieces are wanting. *Caligæ* are worn, extending to above the ankles, and ending in a thick band as if turned over and tucked in.

Beyond the lance stands in profile an altarlet, upon which is erected a double cornucopia containing ' plenty,' represented by three apples (?)

We have a dedication, therefore, to Romulus, possibly as the protector of the crops, and we should consequently either expect the donor to have been at least a native of Central Italy, in spite of his barbaric name, or that he had served in the days of Maxentius (A.D. 306), to whom the revived cult of Romulus meant so much, and whose son was purposely named Romulus.

The second relief, similar in dimensions to the first, and evidently by the same hand, presents us with another male figure, represented holding a patera by its rim in his right hand above another altarlet. With his left he clasps close to his body a cornucopia,[2] the loaded head of which reaches above his left shoulder and also holds fruit Though in some portions (particularly the right half of the figure) more damaged than its fellow, sufficient remains of the details to be described.[3]

The *tunica* here descends to rather below the knees. The *caligæ* (strangely omitted by Lysons) are similar in both reliefs. The right half of the body has now so lost surface that the details of the armour have vanished, nor is there left a trace of the *cingulum* or of a sword.

From the left shoulder, and entirely covering the left breast, falls an ample military cloak or paludamentum, spread outward by the left arm and elbow, clasping the cornucopia and descending thence in rigid (triangular) herring-bone folds as far as the base-line of the skirt or tunic. There is visible a broad hem or border. The face well-delineated shews itself from a tight-fitting head-dress resembling that of a mediæval knight. But there is no helmet, or but a shallow casque.

In the hollowed space, rather more than midway between the head and the cornice (to left), are now left but faint traces of a dedicatory inscription. The *Corpus Inscriptionum*[4] gives this as MARTI. OLLVDIO. or to Mars Olludius.

The latest (or 1851) example is in the same form : though it evidences a poorer hand, probably of a still later date. It is in the Museum at Cirencester. The others have been cared for as much as the hard and fast position given them by their earlier owner (Mr Baker) permitted, by the late Mrs Davies, at Waterlane, near Bisley.

[1] Cf. a bronze helmet in the British Museum, found at Guisborough, Co. York, and another from Cambridgeshire.

[2] This also may have been a double one. Some antiquaries regard these objects as Divining rods.

[3] The altar, as Lysons saw it, was decorated with bands or fillets (probably spiral). Cf. Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ, Vol. 2, pl. 28, Figs. 5 & 7.

[4] Vol. vii. p. 31.

SECTION II.

THE SAXONS AND THE DANES.

Place-names in our neighbourhood abundantly assure us of the completeness of Saxon occupation. Wyke, or *Wic*, is OE for village or dwelling: from L. Vicus. *Hamm* is the 'homm' or meadow-land near water. *Butts* are the abutments of the plough-land. They are mentioned as here in 1429. *Worth*, as in Lullingworth, is an enclosed homestead. (Cf. Ebbworth: Edgworth) (Edis-c as in Standish).[1] Bury and barrow (OE *Beorg : Bearw*) as in Kimsbury and Idelbarrow,[2] represent the stronghold of 'Kynemer' and the burial-mound of one 'Idel,' or possibly the mound by the *Idel* (r). *Combe*, as in Holcombe, is the Saxonized British *Cwm*; as in Salcombe: Detcombe: Duddescomb (now Dutch-combe): Sheppescombe, Sceapp's-combe; *Frith*, as in The Frith-wood, means a wood (ME).

The presence of such names as Salt-ridge,[3] Saltbox, reminds us of the neighbourhood of the chief Gloucestershire Salt-way[4] and suggests a local branch of it (*via* Salterley and Birdlip, used for transport of that indispensable material for the *Salting* every November, of the manorial cattle belonging to the De Laci and their tenants, in days when there lacked upon these hills any adequate winter-provender for the stock. Their occurrence is of special interest seeing that De Laci owned at Schelves in Esch Hd. (Co. Worc.) no less than 4 salt-pits, yielding 60 *mitts*. p.a. Ammianus Marcellinus (28. 5) tells us, in illustration of the value of Salt-works, that the Burgundians and Alamanni often fought for possession of these.

[1] It is spelt STANEDYS in early documents (1280). STANEDISSE, 1189, STANDISCHE.

[2] The reader may consult Fosbrooke's 'City of Gloucester,' pp. 29-30, for some rather confusing legends about Eddel: Idel and Eddiol. He is called by some writers a British prince and a slayer of Saxons. Others name him Earl of Gloucester in A.D. 461. "Earl must be here regarded as a loose translation of his British title." In Leland (Collect. iii. 30) the name appears as ELDOL. The A.-Saxon Chronicle does not mention such a person. William of Malmesbury is also silent about him. On the whole I am inclined to disconnect the IDEL of Idelbury entirely from the above legendary hero. It is quite possible we may have in the name a stream-name *Idle* of British origin for the *Salcombe-broc*.

[3] There is another salt-ridge near Bourton-on-the-Hill.

[4] This ran from Wick (*i.e.* Droitwich) by Hayles and Roel and Stowell to Lechlade, thus in part making use of the Roman White-way that passes on *via* Compton Abdale (a *villa*), Compton Cassey, and so to Cirencester.

Such secluded woody vales as those of Cranham and Shepscomb, Slad and Climperwell, with many long and round Barrows along their camp-crown'd ridges are likely to have included inclosures sacred to some divinity, by whom the treasures of the spot were protected. There may, of course, have belonged sacred groves of oak and elder,[1] and priests or priestesses, with tribal festivals and offerings ; but fortunately we have not to prove it.

In A.D. 874, or 300 years after Ceawlin had captured Romano-British Glevum, Ceolwulf was put forward and ephemerally crowned King of Mercia by the Danes ; Gloucester being his chief city in the south-west. They had driven out Burhred, who now took refuge in Rome. This, however, did not prevent the Danes from raiding in and around the city until it fell ripely into their hands, and Ceolwulf was as easily deposed. In May, 878, suffering a severe defeat at the hands of Alfred at Ethandun (Edington), the enemy retired upon Cirencester, having sworn a solemn peace at Wedmore. That, although it saved Wessex, left the bulk of England in enemy possession. This time nevertheless Guthrum the Dane faithfully kept his pact, and with many of his men turned christian.

It is to the occupation of portions of what became Gloucestershire by the Danes, not as plunderers, but rather as actual settlers, during this last quarter of the 9th century, that we incline to ascribe certain inland place-names which bear the stamp of Scandinavian occupation. The (late) Rev. C. S. Taylor, in his ' Danes in Gloucestershire ' (vol. xvii., p. 94, Transact. B. & Glos. Archl. Soc.) mentioned a dozen of these place-names, which I merely quote from his valued Essay : Nass Cliff ; Sharpness ; Dennys ; Brookthorpe ;[1] Colthorp ; Woolstrope ; Hatherop ; Southrop ; Boutherop ; Cockrup ; and Williamstrip.[2] These indeed form two small county groups. We may now add three unnoticed place-names from the Withington district, ending in *dale : Abdale*, *Thorndale* : *Ravensdale*—which may perhaps point to those (above) ninth-century settlers, or Christianised Danes. Perhaps the monastery once at Withington under the Bishops and Priors of Worcester may have accounted for this ? For Withington with a very extensive area became theirs in (c.) 740 A.D. and formed a rich episcopal estate.

Brookthorpe and Colthrope and Thrupp are the only examples in this list which touch the neighbourhood of Painswick.

[1] Thorpe (*pure*) may here be Scandinavian, but it is clear that the Teutonic peoples had it and our impure forms *throp*, *thrópp* or *trip* may be attributable to *OE. throp*.

[2] Cf. Place-Names of Glos. p. x. Introd, 1913, where will be found several more *thorpes*.

SECTION III.

IDELBARROW : EARL GODWINE

We have already referred to a somehow confused document (vol. 1. p. 63) in the Abbey Cartulary of Gloucester relating to the boundary-divisions lying between its land at Prinknash (and Buckholt) and its important neighbour and benefactor Helias de Gifford of Brimsfield, and Matson and Painswick manors. Fortunately it has included, tho' not with quite successful distinctness, the boundaries of these neighbours. It is dated by its having been made when King Henry I accepted (Queen) Adeliza ; otherwise A.D. 1121, and when William Godmon was Abbot : in fact, just subsequent to the gift of (the western) Buckholt to St. Peters by the reigning Gifford of Brimsfield and his wife and son, for the good of their souls, upon the Altar at Gloucester.

It will be best, for clearness as to the topography involved, to mention that the magnates concerned over and above the Abbot and the donor, Giffard, —are Roger de Chandos owning all Brockworth (north) next to Prinknash ; and the Archbishop of York owning Witcombe-wood adjoining. The uppermost reaches of their respective estates alone are concerned as northern borderers upon it. The deed commences, however, by giving us the earlier name for the Cranham and Painswick brook, namely *Ledene*, as dividing Helias de Gifford's Brimsfield property from the Abbots (newly-given) Buckholt. The locality is still known there as Ladlecombe : in the deed it is the *Ledene-come* ; et ipsa currit usque *Alcamsode* (to the wood of Ealh-helm (?)—*i.e.* some wood a little to south of present Cranham) to which that stream flowed. 'Between ourselves and Roger de Chandos a road or track runs.' 'Between us (also) and Pain Fitz John, between the king (at Upton S. Leonards Manor) and Elgar of Kimsbury and (also) between Ernulf of Matson (*Matresdone*) the road (*i.e.* Portway) divides us even as far as Idelbarrow (*Idelberge*), and, where the robber hangs upon the beech-tree ; and there is a mill[1] (hard-by).

[1] MILL-MEAD is still defined thereby ; and nearer to the commanding rocky Knowle (which we take to be that intended by Idelbarrow, on the brook) is the site of an obsolete mill-dam. The exploration of the knoll in 1926 in company with Hon. J. Leslie and Barnfield, a workman familiar to the place, shewed that this prominent feature had in a late period been re-used for a Belle-vue, or summer-house. But around the north and east side were traces of a far earlier dry-walling. There used, until (c.) 1892, Barnfield tells me, to be a very old boundary-stone of the Parish of Upton beside the Portway within thirty yards of this knoll. It was thoughtlessly broken up and not replaced. "Usque ad Idelberge, est quoddam molendinum (mill) ibi." (loc. cit. A.D. 1121).

This mention is also interesting to us as tending to show that Pain Fitzjohn's marriage with Sybil, niece of Hugh de Laci, took place before (or about) A.D. 1121, for this favoured individual of the newer Normans was then enjoying Wyke as part of her dowry, held of the King in chief, while Hugh de Laci had died that year (bd. at Weobley, Co. Heref.). Possibly Pain's mother was a relative of Odo of Bayeux.

Tradition, again compressed in a name, suggests some close sort of connection of the great Earl Godwine with Painswick. (Cf. Atkyns, Hist. Glos., 1712). We should therefore discover what support, if any, history, so careful of the movements of great leaders, may or may not lend to this record not so precisely stated as we might expect in documents. For, not infrequently, it is the name-presence which gives rise to the suggestion, and we cannot be too cautious in accepting local interpretations, especially when they cannot be traced above a hundred years back. [The neighbouring *Paradise* is an example]. In this case, however, we start with much probability seeing that Sir Robert Atkyns, before 1712, knew the hill by this name ; for he was a Trustee for the Parish of Painswick and the local traditions were familiar to him.

Godwine was, of course, that Earl of Wessex, whose daughter Eadgyth came to be the ill-used Queen to King Edward the Confessor. His sons were considered unworthy of him ; ill-fated King Harold being one of these. Godwine is described for us, however, as the man who alone in his day stood between England and the lust of the foreigners. In 1052 (Sept. 1) King Edward, his son-in-law, went to Gloucester together with Siward, Earl of Northumbria, and Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and to them there came Eustace, Count of Boulogne. The latter having recently repeated former acts of violence upon Godwine's property at Dover, now fled before him and had taken refuge with the weak King in his Court of foreign favourites. It is a highly significant episode. The angry Earl, however, desirous of capturing the Count, or perhaps of compelling the monarch (his own son-in-law) to surrender his person for ransom, sped after him westward. Together with his sons, Swegen and Harold, Godwine held a council at Langtree (Earl's Barn), near Beverstone, (which, with all Berkeley Hundred was then his own) surrounded by his thanes and their followers in a great multitude[1] which he pretended were only intended for chastising the Welsh.

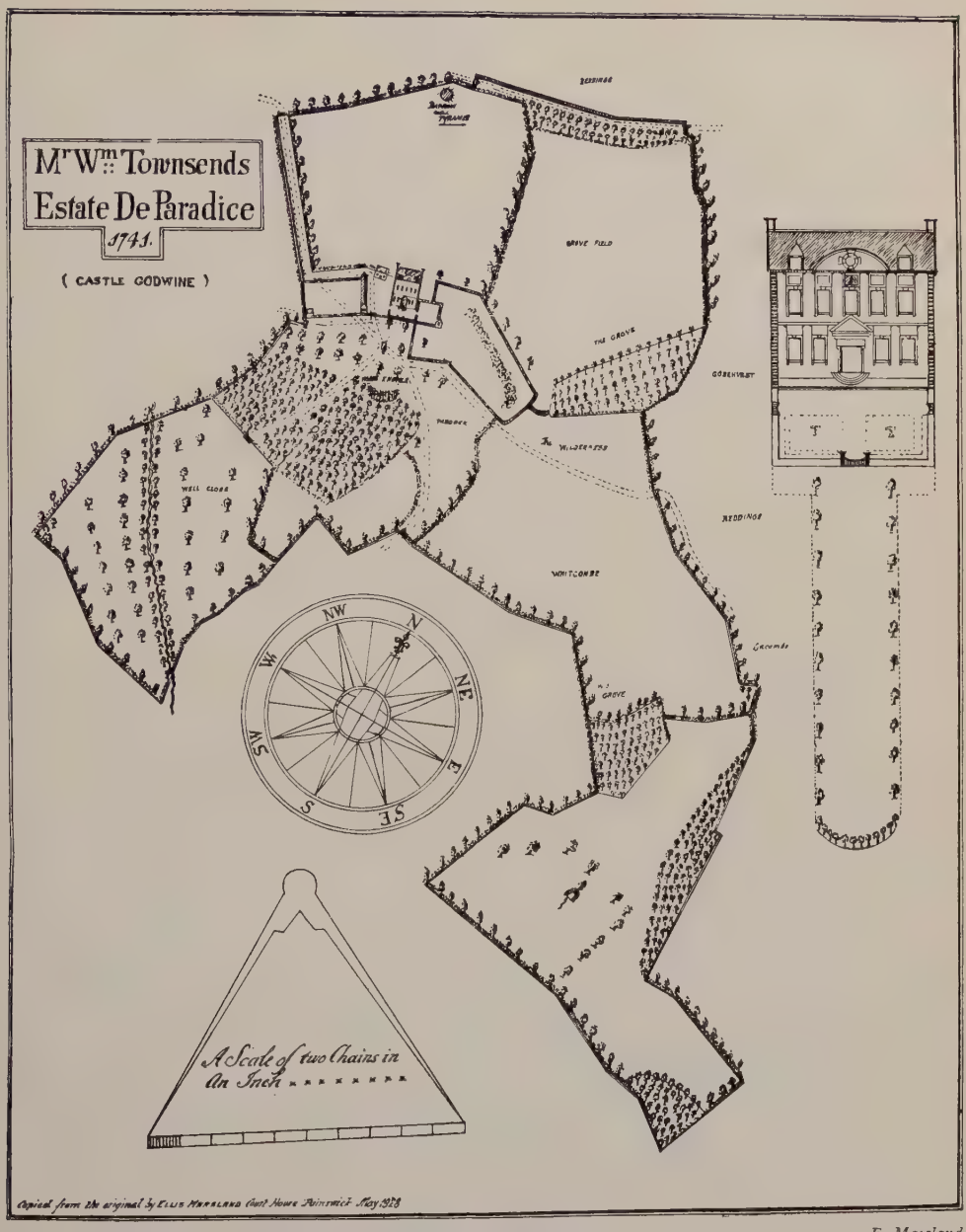
[1] This forms the last episode of the struggle for predominance between Leofric and Godwine. The latter died in the following April at Winchester. " The History of the reign of Edward the Confessor is little more than the variation of the balance of power between the families of Godwine and Leofric ; each has his allies among the Welsh, Irish, and Scottish princes, each has his friends and refuge on the Continent." (Stubbs, Const. Hist. I. 222.) Cf. A. S. Chron. sub. anno. 1051.

Godwine, with this force, as a result of the conference determined to overawe the King at Gloucester. To do this he needed to continue his march but a few miles along the Cotswolds due north from Beverstone, near the lower Foss-way, probably descending *via* Woodchester (where Cnuts daughter his Countess, Goda, lived and possessed the manor), and so, by Ebley and Painswick, he would probably here have made for the most convenient tactical point for overlooking Gloucester, namely, Robin's Wood[1] Hill. It may be, however, news of his coming outsped him, and that he found that vantage-point already occupied by the King's men. As a consequence he may for safety have come no nearer to Gloucester than Kimsbury Hill and Camp. But even in such case, his movement, it is certain, proved vain, as one may gather from what ensued. Compromise, and no action, followed this provocation to civil war.

Having been unable (we may therefore suppose) to reach Robin's Wood Hill in time, he took up his quarters at Painswick Hill, *i.e.*—the next nearest point of vantage, in menace. The leaders of both sides forthwith were summoned to a Witenagemot to be held at Southwark on Sept. 21, whereby the Earl became exiled for a year beyond seas and he retired peacefully from the West, as it proved, for the last time. He returned a sick man next year, and presently was no more.

As the time occupied by this Gloucestershire episode seemingly comprised but three weeks, it is manifest there was no time (even if there had been need) for structural operations upon our hill, assuming, for working hypothesis, that the Earl came to the hill at all. But there can scarcely have arisen necessity for constructive operations. Wyke was no Manor of Godwine's. But presumably it belonged then to Earnsige, a rich thane, and probably his friend. How, then, can this Camp have gained its sobriquet of ' Castle Godwyn,' and ' the Castles ' ? Of course, a fort built by him might have easily fixed the Earl's name to the spot: but there is so far forthcoming no evidence save Atkyns' attribution to point the existence here of any castle, before the 18th century, associating that name with this Hill. But Dr Round shewed that ' Castle ' was loosely applied to any sort of fortified enclosure ; so we need not imagine any vanished building here. Earl Godwine was the Champion of Saxon England, and he was Earl of all the land from Hereford and Gloucester, south of Thames, to Dover. Langtree Barn seems to have borne his token as *Earls Barn*. His army was doubtless large ; it was of course impressive to the country-folk. Moreover, the King and

[1] Nowadays mis-called ' Robinhood's' Hill. It owes its right name to a very old yeoman family of Robins who, in post-Reformation-days, acquired one of the two small manors there.



E. Marsland

CASTLE GODWINE (or Paradise Farm) 1741

facing p. 34

CASTLE HALE (*East side*) 1910

Gloucester were certainly intended at least to have been menaced by him from some point in our neighbourhood. These facts combined would have aroused excitement throughout Cotteswold, and, though no fighting ensued, such a critical condition of affairs might have proved sufficient to leave an undying memory of itself behind, and to wed the patriot name of Godwine with the place of his brief encampment.[1]

On the other hand, the Camp is never designated by the name of ' Castle-Godwin ' in early surviving documents, nor in any extant deeds viewed by the writer. The only mentions of the name of Godwin in these sources occur, not in reference to the great Earl, but, to certain copyholders in the 13th and 18th centuries.[2] The name has, in fact been fairly common in the county. There was a Moneyer at Gloucester, bearing it in the days of King Cnut (Canute.) There was also a Bishop Godwine. It occurs at Cirencester in 1305 ; and later, at Bicknor, there was a family of Godwyn, (c) 1550. Never-the-less, Sir Robert (as has been seen), who was familiar with Painswick, (1711) so designates this hill in his History of the County. The house which bears the name below it did not exist, except as a farm, in his day, it having been enlarged about 1730, at a point standing just above a great mound, or Long-Barrow.[3] We may, therefore, consider the tradition a sound one, and recognise it accordingly.

[1] The 18th century-re-faced house, called ' Castle Godwin,' in the side of the hollow toward ' Paradise,' has no doubt (owing to Sir Robt. Atkyns' *History of Gloucestershire*) derived its name from the hill above it. No house of that name in the Manor can be traced earlier than 1798-9, as the local ' terriers ' clearly show. It was until then merely known as ' Paradise Farm ' by its owners. But one of these, John George, added a castellated apside to the rear of the house and forthwith changed its name to ' Castle Godwin House.' His son, Rev. Wm. George, resided there in 1848.

[2] William Godwin, 1754. Peter Godwine at Buckholt, c. 1266.

[3] The locality of this Paradise Farm is a very marked one also from the archæological point of view, from its evident relation to the ancient fortress-camp above it. For there occur several powerful springs, the nearest to that : and also no less than two Barrows of different ages : one long one, and one round one known in 1740 as ' *the pyramis*,' that has been cut in half by the wall of the 1820 Cheltenham road, tho' it can be easily traced by the trees upon it at the field edge. The Long-barrow or Great Home Knowle has not been excavated or properly examined or hitherto recorded. There is local story of an underground passage between it and the Camp and of sounds as of warriors. It contains burned bones (1905).

CHAPTER II.

THE CONFESSOR—ERNISI (*Earnsige*)—THE DE LACI—PAIN FITZJOHN—EDGWORTH—SAXON PAINSWICK, OR WYKE—LLANTONY—SYBIL DE LACI—A CASTELLUM.

EDWARD the Confessor had been educated in France, an exile. His mother was Norman, and he spoke the Norman tongue. His affections leaned to the people among whom he had spent his youth. He planted Norman colonies in Herefordshire and in other parts of his Kingdom, and honoured his favourites somewhat too freely with the great offices of State. The late Prof. Freeman is held to have judged rightly that the leaning of Edward cleared the path for the coming of his cousin William. As another eminent Historian has put it—" For the last half-century England had been drawing nearer to the Norman land which fronted it across the Channel." (J. R. Green, *Hist. Eng. People*, Vol. I.)—At any rate, when his long reign of two-and-twenty years came to a close in 1064 the pressure of Norman influence was in the ascendant, and his widowed Queen favoured it. It may, therefore, be regarded as having formed a period of Transition.

During the latter part of his reign, Wyke, as Painswick was then called, was held by one Ernisi,[1] possibly half a Norman, who may have inherited (as we shall see) his father's possessions. But his lands in Gloucestershire were not confined to Wyke ; he owned Greenhamstead Manor (Miserden in Bisley Hundred, and was indeed a great thane,-(We may recall that the doors of Miserden Church are of almost Saxon date),-Swell Manor, in Salmanesbury Hundred, Estune (Aston) Manor, in the Hundred of Gretestanes, Suddintone (Siddington) Manor, in that of Cirencester, and other land, called Frantone Manor, in that of Blacelaw.[2] It is not perhaps possible to assert the precise extent of all this land in Ernisi's possession in the County, but thirty thousand acres would be within the mark, seeing that Wyke, or Painswick, alone registered 20,760 acres. Ernisi was, therefore, Lord of Wyke and a territorial magnate of the first order.

[1] Cf. The Ervistus of Giraldus Cambrensis. OE. p.n Earnsige : normanized—Ernisi.

[2] Frampton-on-Severn. This became transferred *to* Drogo Fitz Pons.

The estimated value of these lands of his, was as follows :—

	£	s.	d.	
At Siddington	19	0	0	
,, Aiford	4	0	0	(?)
,, Swell	10	0	0	
,, Aston	6	0	0	
,, Wyke	24	0	0	
,, Greenhamstead	7	0	0	
,, Frantone (Frampton) ..	5	0	0	
,, Cranham	0	10	0	
	£75	10	0	

At the date of Domesday Survey, or twenty-two years later, these values had undergone reduction in some instances and increase in others ; the value of Wyke, in particular, having increased from £20 to £24, a very notable advance, probably to be accounted for by shrinkage of the forest into smaller compass, as well as by increased cultivation.

But we discover an important change of owner. We find that, for some not-determined reason, Ernisi had forfeited or given up his various lands, and these had been parcelled out among five Norman Lords. Aston, Siddington, and Greenhamstead belonged now to Hascoit Musard. *Wyke* and *Cranham* belonged to Roger de Laci, who had then possessed these by but one year. Swell belonged to William de Ow and Ralph de Todeni, while Eyford and Frampton had become the property of Drogo Fitz-Ponz.

As however, we find Eudo Fitz-Ernisi, in the following century alive in 1172 owning lands in Essex, Shropshire, Suffolk and Hertfordshire, it is possible that a Norman descendant of Ernisi survived and was permitted to retain portions of the paternal possessions outside Gloucestershire, or else he had received fresh grants from the Plantagenet Kings. Moreover, another Oliver Fitz-Ernisi, received Mendone, Essex from William Longsword, which afterwards, at his death, passed to Eudo. (*Liber Rubeus : R.Ser.*, p. 505).

It is likely, therefore, that Ernisi, the former owner of Wyke, and of much beside, had left issue. It further seems probable that some one of these was the individual who became in later life a favoured ' Capellanus,' or Chaplain to Matilda, or Maud, Queen of Henry I, and who ultimately was elected to be first Prior of the De Laci foundation of Llantony Prima in Wales. The question, therefore, arises, can anything be adduced to account for the remarkable change which manifestly had taken place in his family-fortunes during the reign of the Conqueror, 1066-87, by which their large possessions thus passed into other hands ; for, there is no doubt, they had thus passed into those of Walter,

father of Roger and Hugh de Laci, who died in 1085 by fall from a scaffold at Hereford. For his great services to the Conqueror, De Laci had been given an Honour consisting of 116 Manors, twenty-seven of which were in Gloucestershire, albeit the head of his barony was in Co. Hereford.

If we turn to the ' Chronicle of Evesham,' under the years 1070-77, we shall find the following remarkable story, which although, perhaps, little more than a story, may serve somewhat in the nature of an answer :—

" Ernisi was the son of a noble matron, by name Alditha. Now, her brother, one Alfricus (*Ælfric*), purloined certain relics from the Shrine of St. Egwine (Bishop of Worcester) at the Abbey of Evesham. Alditha was commanded by One, who appeared to her in her sleep, to deliver up the precious objects. Cupidity however prevailed with her, and in consequence she became visited with blindness. Thereupon, she grew so terrified as to confess her crime to the Abbot, though she obtained leave from him to keep the said relics by her for life, in a precious little shrine which she had made for them. Moreover, her guilty son Alfricus was drowned in the river. When Alditha herself died, her other son Ernisi took possession of the relics ; but living wildly (luxuriose atque insipienter) he lost all that he inherited from his father and handed over the casket to a certain magnate from whom by God's favour Abbot Ægelnôth obtained them." Such a personage may here quite probably have been a friend and intimate of Earl Godwine, and thus have been his entertainer, if not the prime favourer, of his manœuvre against Gloucester.[1] If this by chance came to be remembered against him by the Conqueror's advisers *that* would account for his son's loss of Wyke, of Miserden and other lands, and afford us the explanation we so much need. But it remains here merely an historical suggestion. The first prior of Llanthony (c. 1108-9) *may* have been Alditha's grandson.

If this incident (supposing it to have foundation in fact) occurred between the dates given, it will account for the possession of *Ernisi's* estates by others at Domesday. Later events, however, seem to show that *Ernisi* the younger, became an important personage ' Vir nominatissimus in curia Henrici Regis primi inter primos Palatii,' and finally was appointed ' Capellanus Venerandæ recordationis Matildæ Reginæ, uxoris eidem Henrico,' (' Chaplain to Queen Matilda (or Maud), of revered memory, wife of the same (King) Henry.' Cf. *Chron : Lanton : Julius* D.X. Cotton : B.M.) and, in time, he retired from Court in company with a knight of the name of William . . . to a Hermitage beside the Nant Hodenay, at the foot of the Hatterel Hills. No illustrative examples are needed to assure the

[1] William I. would have no great Feudatories other than of his own making. No favour could smile upon any friend of the House of Godwine.

Reader that it was a common thing in those days for a noble knight and a frequenter of Courts, even for a vicious one and a spendthrift, to turn vehemently religious, and to end his career in serene piety. The stormy reign of the Red King can show plenty of instances not unlike that of Ernisi ; nevertheless, ' what he taught he practised,' says his favouring Chronicler.

We, therefore, read in a 14th c. Br. Mus. MS recording the origin of Llantony, the story relating how, in the 38th year after the coming of the Normans (otherwise A.D. 1103), these two, Ernisi and William, gave up the world (*ie* the Court) for a dwelling in certain wilds of Wales, where, favoured by the powerful and devout Hugh de Laci, (' innato religionis amore,' et ' pauperum et oppressorum misertor benignissimus,') then Lord of Weobley, Ewyas (Laci), and all other manors that had been his dispossessed brother's,[1] they later on raised a small church in honour of St. John the Baptist, on a site, consecrated in 1108 by Urban, (Diocesan) and Reinelm, Bishop of Hereford (d. 1115). We have, then, it seems, Hugh de Laci, Lord of Wyke, fraternally assisting Ernisi (or Earnsige), (?) son of a former owner of many of his own extensive manorial possessions. For, by this date, Hugh had succeeded his brother, Roger de Laci, who had been banished for twice rebelling against William Rufus (1088 and 1095) in favour of Robert, Duke of Normandy. Gerald of Wales who wrote some ninety years after these events, tells practically the same story. And to this date of Roger de Laci's banishment, or rather to two years prior to that serious crisis in the family, we must once more revert, in order to show in sufficient detail what was the then nature and extent of the Manor of Wyke, first of all interpolating a pedigree of the Gloucester De Laci (so far as it is known to us), at that period. We shall also have need to recall throughout the personal story of the successive earlier lords of Painswick that though they possessed four or five other residential manors in this shire this one always remained their chief and earliest Park, par excellence ; for it abounded with red-deer, hares, badgers, fox (and wolf occasionally), heron, and partridge, and woodcock : to say nothing of smaller game.

The Manor of Wyke, or Wiche, at a later day called Painswick,[2] consisted in 1086, of 20,760 acres, of which 14,600 were woodland. Of this, therefore, 6,160 acres were arable, or under part cultivation, and much may have been meadowland. The division of the land was into Demesne and

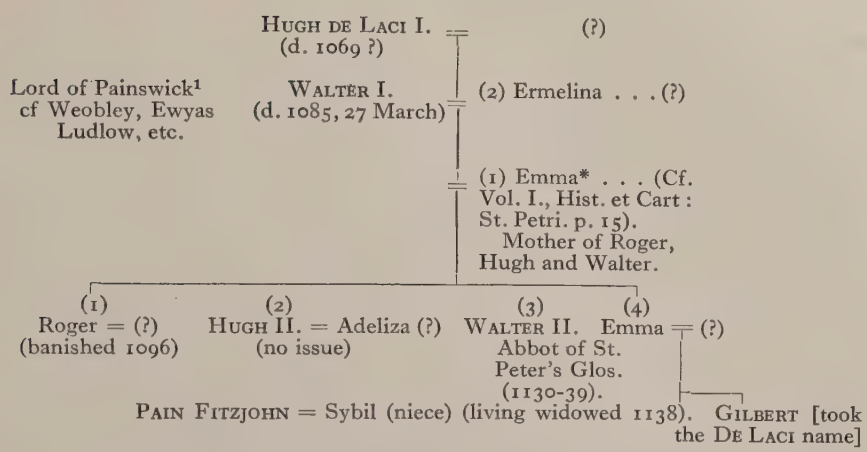
[1] Save one manor, that of ' Halhagan cum Bradewasse,' in Worcestershire, which Roger retained still in 1108 : " in accordance with a policy which is believed to have been practised, namely, that of keeping a hold, however small, on the Forfeited." This manor was assessed at 3½ hides. (J. H. Round, Feudal England, 172, 176-7).

[2] After Pain Fitzjohn, who, probably raised some fortification (castellulum) there during the earlier troubles in the reign of King Stephen.

Villenage,—the Lord's land and that held from him by his Villeins, or labouring tenants (*ie* yard lands=(c) 30 acres, and half-yard lands =(c) 15 acres). The Lord had one team, and his villeins fifty-two. There were likewise four mills (flour). Painswick Manor consisted, therefore, of nearly two-thirds of the entire Hundred of Bisley, which extended in all to 32,294 acres ; and it was valued at £24. But, although so large a manor, in area equivalent of 53 ploughlands of 120 acres apiece, it was assessed roughly at but one Hide.[1] Nevertheless, though Bisley Manor itself, valued at £23 in the day of Edward the Confessor, had now fallen to £20 at the date of Domesday, that of Wiche, or Wyke, had risen from £20 to £24, as was previously noted. This is an important fact, for, whereas the whole Hundred of Bisley was valued in King Edward's time at £75, in the Domesday Survey it had reached £82—a difference of £7. Now as Wyke (Painswick) had (as shown above) increased during that interval £4 in value, this Manor alone accounts for more than half of the £7 increase in the entire Hundred of Bisley. This directs to a conclusion that Wyke had become the especial point of improvement in this Hundred. This, we may take it, was due to the increasing conversion of woodland into field. Doubtless, it further improved during the peace in Henry the First's reign.

But we are here confronted with a problem concerning Painswick and the Hundred of Bisley, in which its Manor and Village was situated, which is not easy to solve. We have seen that in 1086 the acreage of the entire Hundred of Bisley was reckoned at 32,294. The modern Commissioners reckon it at 24,640 only ; less, therefore, by 7,654 acres. What has become of these missing acres of the Hundred ? Either they lay without the Hundred yet were reckoned in it, which is possible ; or, they did not exist, *ie* were due to a clerical error on the part of the scribe ; which is practically unthinkable. Now, since Domesday, the Manors of Greenhamstead (Miserden), Winston, Sapperton, and Bisley, have increased their respective acreages to the extent of 266 ; 168 ; 1,748 ; and 7,454 acres : or, in all, 9,636 acres ; while, correspondingly, Painswick and Edgworth have lost 17,146 and 144 acres : or, in all, 17,290 acres. If we subtract 9,636 from 17,290, the remainder is precisely 7,654, the number of the apparently missing acres of the Hundred.

[1] It seems probable that De Laci, or his predecessor, may have obtained this low assessment by royal favour. This continued for more than two centuries, long after the arable area had been extended at the expense of the woodland. It is seen from the given area and the 53 teams that King William's Exchequer here reckoned 120 acres to the areal Hide. But the term Hide in two different senses—(1) a certain multiple of acres, and (2) a unit for assessment—has proved a cause of stumbling.


Hugh de Laci I. (d. 1069 ?)
(?)
Lord of Painswick[1] cf Weobley, Ewyas Ludlow, etc.
Walter I. (d. 1085, 27 March)
(2) Ermelina . . . (?)
(1) Emma* . . . (Cf. Vol. I., Hist. et Cart : St. Petri. p. 15). Mother of Roger, Hugh and Walter.
(1) Roger = (?) (banished 1096)
(2) Hugh II. = Adeliza (?) (no issue)
(3) Walter II. Abbot of St. Peter's Glos. (1130-39).
(4) Emma = (?)
Pain Fitzjohn = Sybil (niece) (living widowed 1138).
Gilbert [took the De Laci name]

Heloise (? De Laci)=William de Evreux. Walter de Laci, gave her the Hyde, in Herefordshire upon her marriage. This she afterwards (A.D. 1123) gave to the Abbey of St. Peter. (Cf. Vol. I., p. 88, H. & C., St. Petri : Glos.). She was perhaps a sister (or a niece) of Roger, Hugh and Walter.

* She gave the manor of 5 Hides in Duntisbourne to St. Peter's Glo'ster for the benefit of her lord's Soul, valued at £4 (D.S.)

Painswick and Edgworth (a manor claimed and gained by De Laci, and henceforth subject to it) have now but 3,614 and 1,538 acres, and together they comprise 5,152 acres, and the rest of the Hundred of Bisley comprises 19,488 acres = 24,640 acres. The woodland (silva) in Painswick is stated to be (DS) 5 leucatæ (leagues) long and 2 (leagues) in breadth. This is reckoned out by the late Rev. Charles S. Taylor, in his Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire, at 14,600 acres, while the entire Hundred of Bisley included but 15,960 woodland ; so that, outside this computation of the woodland for the Manor of Wyke, there remained only 1,360 acres of woodland for the rest of the entire Hundred. Whichever way we look at our Domesday Record, we are confronted with a possibly insoluble, but not unique, problem regarding the extent of the Hundred.

It must be noticed with respect to Cranham, that this village and its parish has been a creation out of Wyke, or Painswick, but this was effected before Domesday and so does not enter into calculation. " In hac terra tenet S^ta Maria de Cirencestre, unum villanum et parcellam silvæ. Valet

[1] That Ernisi's lands must have been given to Walter is shown by the charge on the Church of Wyke to Walter's Priory of St. Peter (later St. Guthlac) Hereford. Roger had succeeded his father as Lord of Wyke at Domesday.

X. Sol : " " Hoc concessit ei Willelmus Rex : or, Here the Priory of St Mary of Cirencester holds one villein and a portion of wood. Value 10s. King William gave it her." (DS) That is how Cranham came to have its church. William Rufus like his father had a special regard for Regenbald, the wealthy Dean of the Saxon College at Cirencester, and enriched it at the expense of a Lord of Painswick.

A normal holding of a villein was a Virgate (or yard-land), of (c) 30 acres, though many held but half-yards, and less, and some held more. If we take the average holdings at 20 acres, we should only get 1,040 acres under cultivation by the villeins apart from the demesne land, so that but one-sixth part of the arable area in the manor was cultivated by the peasants for themselves. Mr Taylor, before-quoted, aptly says :—" Woodland was chiefly valuable on account of the grass in the spring, and the pannage in the autumn ; timber, we may suppose, was too common to be regarded as any very great source of profit, though the best timber, oak and ash, was withheld from the tenants, who yet had the right of cutting wood for the repair of their homesteads and their implements." The oldest tree in Painswick (c.) AD. 1200, is the great oak at Edge : 10 feet in diameter and c. 110 feet high.

He further adds :—" In several cases it is obvious that the woodland registered under the names of Manors must have lain *outside the limits of the existing Parishes* which answer most nearly to the Domesday areas, and very likely at a considerable distance from them, where it cannot now be traced." (p. 64). He then instances Painswick, among others, as inexplicable otherwise. Could we but have asked the banished Roger de Laci it is vexing to think how easily he could have satisfied us. It is obvious that although much of the woodland lay (at Edgworth) outside the Manor, much lay within it.

The number of males on the Manor at the Domesday Survey was 66, consisting of one Priest, three Horsemen of the lord (Radchenistri or rad-knights), 35 Villeins, 16 Bordars, and 11 Serfs (Villani).

The villeins were usually holders of yard-lands (virgatæ) and half yard-lands in villeinage, *ie* typical villagers, while the Bordars had smaller lots, from one to ten acres.[1] The bordar was a cottager who took no part in the communal ploughing, and contributed no oxen to the plough-teams. Seebohm declares,—" His services were no less servile than those of the villanus, but of a more trivial kind. He was above the ' servus,' or slave, but his was the class which most easily would slide into that of the modern labourer, and in which the ' servus ' himself, in his turn might most easily merge. The latter

[1] Under Henry VII. by far the greater number of tenants in Painswick still held yard-lands and half yard-lands.

THE GREAT OAK AT EDGE FARM

30 ft. round

facing p. 42

THE OAK TREE

Sydney Pitcher

had no proprietary rights, nor legal status. As ' Bord ' gave way to ' cottage ' in the common speech, so the whole class below the Villani came to be known as Cotters.[1]

The Radchenistri (Radmanni), or riding-men for the Lord's business-staff were, perhaps, the equivalents of the ' geneats ' of earlier, Saxon days. They probably kept three horses apiece. But their services were various in different manors. At Tewkesbury they ploughed and harrowed the Lord's land. Thus they were ' liberi,' or so-called freemen, rendering special tho' bounden services.

A Virgate,[2] or yard-land (OE gyrd-land), consisted of a bundle of strips[3] usually amounting to 30 acres, and these made up the cornfields around the village, or Wick, both in Saxon and in Norman times. A glance at a plan of Painswick will still suggest (in spite of the inevitable modifications wrought by time and by custom) the original positions of certain of these. The ordinary day's ploughing was concluded at mid-day. Four virgates (or yard-lands) made a carucate, or ploughed land (*Caruca*—a plough). The normal outfit of a villein was two oxen and one cow, though he often had four oxen, and sometimes more, to his team. On the other hand, the team of the lord, or manorial team, consisted of eight oxen, which corresponded to a carucate, or 120 acres of land. Teams of six oxen can still be seen at work near Brimsfield and Syde : and the tread of the oxen is part of their value to the land.

The ancient fields were usually ploughed in waves, or ' selions ' of from seven to fifteen feet in width, so that the fields presented a series of equal and regular undulations ; a method devised for purpose of drainage, and yet in use, the traces of which are very difficult to wear out. Fields that have not been ploughed for centuries in a certain light will at once give up the secret, like a worn-down inscription.

The Demesne (or lord's) land, contained picked pieces of the estate or manor, but portions of this became held of him only by the ' Liberi tenentes,' or free-tenants. These, however, do not occur in the Domesday Survey of Wyke. Wyke, *then* owned one full team for the lord, but no ' liberi tenentes.' In later days the Demesne land increased, so as to include Ham, Ifold, Washwell, and Duddescombe, each of these constituting a demesne land. So that Painswick had four Tithings, and four demesne-lands (see p. 74. The

[1] Cottarii. There is reason, however, to believe that these divisions were made on these lines, and that one kind of tenant often became another. Sometimes the Cotter possessed a garden, or five acres of field, besides his cottage ; sometimes he had none of these.

[2] Virga (L) a rod.

[3] *ie* the most convenient form for the ploughing.

Tithings were—Spoonbed, Edge, Stroud-end, Shepscombe. [These two latter lying east of the stream].

And here the OE word *Hamm* arrests us. It applied to land immediately on the west of modern Painswick, and contiguous to it, including what is still called Hamfield and Hambutts. In 1430 it is mentioned as the 'Hamme,' and it had come down as such from Saxon days.[1] The Domesday Survey reveals that, in Gloucestershire only as much as four per cent. of the place-names included the word 'Ham,' while in Norfolk and Suffolk (as might be conjectured) the proportion to others amounted to as much as eighteen per cent., or four and a half times as many. But the real word alluded to here (as we remarked) was not OE *hām*: home: or dwelling, but OE *hamm*: enclosed meadow-land, having however a natural tendency to lose the final m and assimilate with the other term. Hence their frequent confusing!

It was on the Gloucester, or Spoonbed, side of Painswick, that the Saxon farming interest centred as had the Roman, and this in part followed from certain fairly level lands lying there.

From these facts it will be legitimate to conclude that Spoonbed, Ifold, and Ham, possessing the more favourable land, were the earliest cultivated portions of this manor, and they became tilled by Saxon serf-labour. The village, or wick,[2] with its Saxon community, lay but a little way off. That is to say, the Saxon village here did not as at Woodchester grow out of, (although in sight of), the ruined Roman Villa crowning Ifold beyond it. It will be shown that the Norman Lords (if not their immediate Saxon predecessor), set their manorial 'mansio' or 'castellum,' south of the village church, in fact, on the ridge overlooking the still more impressive arm of the valley, wherein their valuable cornmills lay,[3] and that, at a more settled period, their inheritors, owing to circumstances to be recounted later on in this volume, quitted even *that*, and travelled somewhat eastwards of Wick, or Painswick, and there having emparked the Manor and given it a Lodge (*ie* the Lodge), in the 15th century they pulled down the Castle, or Manor House (called later *The Hale*), and made the Lodge to be the Lord's future residence The centre of importance thus moved south-eastward in this Manor.

The Villicus, or Steward, of the Roman owner's estate, may be said to have become represented in Saxon and later days here, by the Wicgerefa, or *præfectus* (Bede), prepositus, or reeve. (Cf. *The Old English Manor*.

[1] Painswick was still called Wyke in the 13th cent.

[2] Vicus.

[3] Though the Saxons possessed mills here before them.

PAINSWICK CHURCH BEFORE 1883

facing p. 44

THE CHURCH AFTER BEING STRUCK BY LIGHTNING, JULY, 1883

p. 130-1. C.M. Andrews.) So that in some not too indefinite fashion we remind ourselves of the continuous chain of local inheritance, the nature of the links, however, of but one half of which are we enabled to realise by means of any actual literary evidence.

At this point, we may return to *Hugh de Laci* (d. 1121), as Lord of the Manor of Wick, or Wyke—' Vir quidem genere nobilis, sed nobilior moribus : inter primos regni principes nominatissimus, pauperum et oppressorum misertor benignissimus.' (*Chron.* 1, *Lantonæ*, Julius X. B.M.) Whether Wyke possessed a church in the time of Edward the Confessor is not evidenced; though this is, however, nearly certain, seeing that at Domesday the place had its own priest, and 25 years still later, Hugh de Laci made donation of its Church to the Augustinian Priory of Llantony Prima on another property of his in Wales. So by A.D. 1110, Painswick must have had a Church with all its appurtenances. A *voussoir* of an arch of the date of c. 1140-50 survives. Indeed, it had been already charged with a pension for St. Peter's (later St Guthlac's) Priory at Hereford, endowed by Walter de Laci, his father, which pension (40s.) continued to be paid down to the dissolution of the Monasteries (1539).

It was in this manner Painswick Church throughout four centuries and more came to have Austin Canons for Rectors. For Llantony Prima rose into being in 1108 as a Cœnobium of Canons under that Rule, presided over by Ernisi (or Earnsige), thus constituting itself one of the earliest convents in England belonging to that Order—that of St Julian and St Botolph, at Colchester (built and endowed by Queen Maud in 1105), being the first, and that of Holy Trinity, London, being the second. For the Reform of the canons followed quickly on the Reform of the Benedictine Order, and Pope Paschal II (1099-1117) commanded all canons thenceforward to adopt this one Rule. Hugh De Laci, however, died, and eleven years later many of the canons were constrained to flee from Llantony to Hereford owing (some averred) to reprisals made on them by the Welsh.[1] Robert Betun, Bishop of Hereford, formerly second Prior of Llantony, and Milo Fitz Walter, Constable of Gloucester (whose father, the great Sheriff, had been interred at Llantony),[2] now came to their aid, and in 1136 a fresh or second Llantony was founded and endowed for them close to the south side of the just-completed Gloucester Castle and Keep, on a piece of land there belonging to Milo, called the Hyde. In the later days of the 12th century, however, the original Llantony in Wales revived and was rebuilt upon a grand scale, enriched by De Laci's descendants and

[1] It is certain that, although many fled, several remained there. This looks as if the Welsh were not guilty.

[2] Probably one of the first to be buried there.

namesakes,[1] and endowed with fresh grants of land, many of them in Ireland. But the Bishop of the Diocese (Worcester) experienced the inconvenience of dealing with the various gifts of Churches to two Lantony Houses standing far apart. Pope Eugenius III c. 1146 confirmed their respective possessions that had thus become a source of complexity and dispute. The especial point of interest to us is that Wyke (in future called Payneswyke) became handed over to the nearer Llantony at Gloucester, with which it permanently remained. Adrian IV. in 1157 confirmed the composition established by Prior Clement (after 1150), probably at the moment when Roger Earl of Hereford, husband of Cecilia, Pain Fitz John's daughter, retired as a monk to his father Milo's Llantony beside the Severn (1155-7). Consequently, the advowson of Painswick clung to the second Llantony at Gloucester, and became confirmed to it over and over again by the various descendants of de Laci as Lords of this Manor.

Mr A. S. Ellis, in his 'Domesday Tenants of Gloucestershire states that Hugh de Laci "was dead without issue in 1121, and the only surviving brother, Walter (II.) being a monk (Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, 1130-9), a nephew named Gilbert, son of their sister Emma, took the name of De Laci and secured the estates, which descended in his heirs." This account, derived from Gerald, and probably a true one, has been also followed by Mr Kingsford in DNB : (Vol. XXI p. 390)—"Henry I. seems to have taken the De Laci estates into his own hands ; but Gilbert, son of Hugh's sister Emma, assumed the name of De Laci, and claimed to represent the family." The same writer (p. 375) states likewise of Gilbert : "His father's name is not known. After the death of Hugh de Laci, the family estates were taken back into royal hands." This is shewn by reference to the Great Roll of the Pipe—"Paganus Filius Johannis in dominio Regis de Wica vis," where Pain Fitz John renders six shillings for the King's demesne of Wyke. But there is more to be added about this !

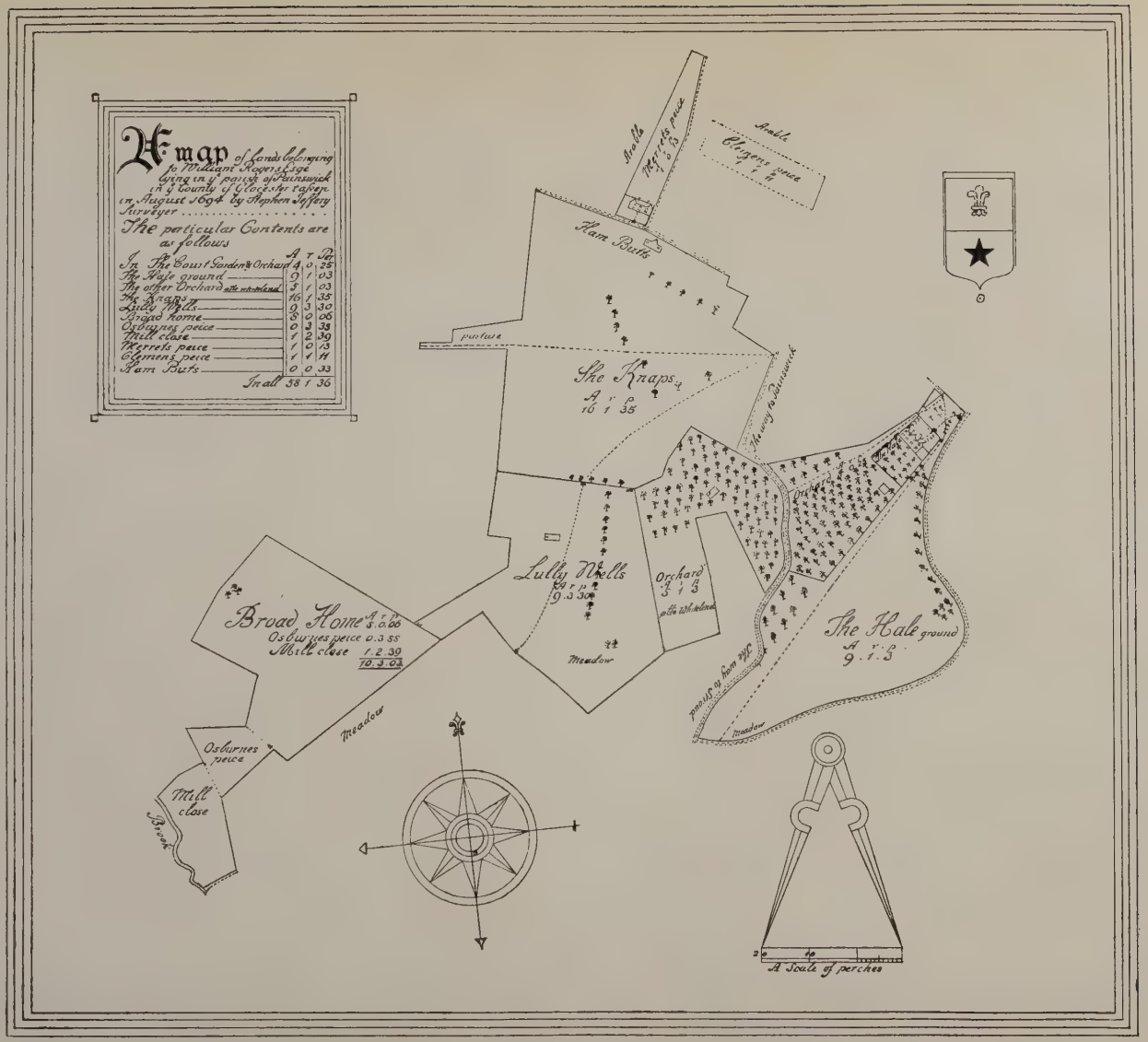
Hugh de Laci was married. But though we cannot find that he had issue we can prove that he left a niece, Sybil, who survived him, and whom he must have endowed with certain of his vast estates. Her immediate heirs in these were two daughters by her husband the Sheriff above-named, Pain Fitzjohn. Painswick, and certain other property at Ewias, thus became severed from the De Laci Barony although other smaller De Laci manors in this county ultimately remained with Gilbert, the 4th baron ; possibly Sybil's brother.

As this is important, let us first note Hugh de Laci's marriage, and burial,

[1] Hugh de Laci (son of Gilbert), killed in Ireland, 1185.

PAINSWICK
Butt Green
The Croft
Washwell
Allotment
Allotment
Allotment
Allotment
Allotment
Congregational Chapel
Ham Butts
Hamfield
Hambutts House
Bowling Green
Croft
Post Office
Chapel
School
Falcon
Institute
Spring
Verlands
Spring
Friends' Meeting House
St. Mary's Church
The Stocks
Grave Yard
Dry Knapps
School
Court House
Stone
Castle Hale
Whitehall
Lullingworth
Stanmages
Lord's Mead
Lady's Mead
Mill Pond
Brookhouse Mill
(Pm)
Brook House

facing p. 46


A Map of Lands belonging to Willm Rogers Esqr lying in ye parish of Painswick in ye County of Glocester taken in August 1694 by Stephen Jeffery Surveyer
The particular Contents are as follows
In The Court Garden & Orchard 4 0 25
The Hale ground 9 1 03
The other Orchard adjoyning 3 1 03
The Knapps 16 1 35
Lady Wells 9 3 30
Broad Home 8 0 06
Osburnes peice 0 3 38
Mill close 1 2 39
Norrels peice 1 0 13
Clemens peice 1 1 11
Ham Butts 0 0 33
In all 38 1 36
Ham Butts
pasture
The Knapps A 16 1 35
The way to Painswick
Lilly Wells A 9 3 30
Orchard A 3 1 3 alias Wholland
Meadow
Broad Home A 8 0 06
Osburnes peice 0 3 38
Mill close 1 2 39
10 3 03
Meadow
Osburnes peice
Mill close
Brook
The Hale ground A 9 1 3
Meadow
A Scale of perches

CASTLE HALE, 1694

and his gift of St Peter's Priory (later called S. Guthlac's) to St. Peter's, Gloucester. The following Charter will be found in Vol. III. p. 256, Historia et Cartularium S. Petri. Glouc :

" Anno ab Incarnatione Domini Millesimo Centesimo, Hugo de Laceio et *Adeliza* uxor ejus dederunt ecclesiæ Sancti Petri de Gloucestrie ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Herefordia cum omnibus quæ ad eam pertinent pro animabus patris et matris et omnium parentum suorum et pro suis liberam et quietam in elemosinam tenendam a monachis sub ipsis et sub heredibus eorum . . . Ipsi vero et corpora sua apud eos sepeliri et rerum suarum partem universam quæ eis contingerit monachis donari concesserunt.

" Testibus Radulpho de Penebrugge, Alexandro de Cormelis, (*Cormeilles*) Radulpho filio Anschetilli, Ansfred de Ebroicis, (*Evreux*) Tiri de Sai, Gotse, dapifero, Ernaldo de Uschamla, Ricardo de Eschetot, Rogerio de Wica."[1]

Hugh's lady was therefore Adeliza (——), and she was living in A.D. 1100, but evidence is still lacking as to which family she belonged by birth.

And now as to evidence of Hugh's heir : In Charter No. 20, Duchy of Lancaster, dated by the late Dr J. H. Round to December, 1137–May 1138, which is a confirmation by King Stephen to Roger,[2] afterward Earl of Hereford, and to Cecilia, his wife, of all the lands which her father, Pain Fitzjohn, had acquired, together with her own marriage-portion, we find the following instructive passage :—

" Et omne maritagium quod predictus Paganus dedit filiæ suæ de honore Hugonis de Laceio in terris et militibus et omne illud juris quod ipse Paganus habebat in toto honore Hugonis de Laceio." Here we have facts indicated. First, Pain Fitzjohn had endowed his daughter Cecilia with land and knights' fees out of Hugh de Laci's ' Honour,' and, then, we learn that Pain had been granted certain if limited rights in the entire Honour of Hugh de Laci. We, therefore, ask how was such right acquired ? Previous students have thought that the estates of Hugh de Laci must have escheated to the King, who later granted them to a favourite minister and sheriff, Pain Fitzjohn. But other reason for the King's grant becomes evident. Pain had married Hugh de Laci's niece and heiress, so that it is not needful to imagine that the estates escheated at all. The Charter goes on to say :—

" Et propter hoc quidquid Paganus dedit *Sibillæ uxori suæ* in dotem *de Hereditate sua*, ut illud teneat ipsa Sibilla de Rogerio et Cecilia uxore sua "

[1] These witnesses are all tenants, and some are kinsfolk of the De Laci family, on their Gloucestershire and Herefordshire estates. Wica is possibly the priest of Painswick. Alexander de Cormeilles was a son of Ansfrid de Cormeilles, who had married a niece of Walter de Laci (I.), c. 1080.

[2] Eldest son of Milo of Gloucester, the sheriff, who had been made Earl of Hereford by the Empress Maud in 1141.

that is she should hold in her dower from her daughter wife of Roger (Fitz Milo).

So that Sybil, Pain's wife, had family-possessions for her dower which her husband permitted her to enjoy. The questions arise at once : who was Sybil ? What were her lands, and to whom was she heiress ? The answer is partly contained in the following Charter[1] granted by her (after Pain's decease) to the Priory of Ewyas Harold :—

" Carta Sibillæ de Laci de terra de Leghe de Ewias."

" Sibilla de Laceio omnibus ballivis et forestariis suis de Ewias, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et carta mea confirmavisse Waltero Abbati[2] *avunculo meo* et monachis Gloucestriæ terram de Leghe juxta ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis de Ewias quam Haraldus de Ewias prædictæ ecclesiæ dedit in elemosinam ; scilicet de fumam usque ad pistil et de Duneleis et de fumam usque ad summitatem montis de Maischoit ex utramque parte de Duneleis tenendam liberam et quietam ab omni consuetudine et servicio. Concedo etiam predictis monachis Gloucestriæ qui manent apud Sanctum Michaelem de Ewias et hominibus suis pro salute animæ meæ et pro animo Domini mei *Pagani filii Johannis* et pro animis antecessorum meorum (for the soul of my Lord Pain Fitzjohn and for the souls of all my ancestors) ut habeant omnia eis necessaria in predicta foresta mea de Maischoit,[3] scilicet, in pascuis et quidquid eis necesse fuerit ad domos suas edificandas libere et quiete.

" Testibus : Waltero de Scudemer,[4] Gilberto de Eschet et aliis."

Sybil Fitzjohn was therefore niece of Walter de Laci, Abbot of Gloucester, and wife of Pain, who may have previously been her appointed guardian. But the word ' avunculus ' usually means a maternal uncle. Hence, Sybil was niece also to Hugh de Laci and to his dispossessed brother Roger, through a sister, Emma or Emmelina. Sybil's own daughter Cecilia, later on, in a Llantony document (at Cheltenham) is in error given Hugh de Laci for her grandfather :—" Cecilia Comitissa, cognita donatione Hugonis de Laci *avi* (for *avunculi?*) sui super eandem Ecclesiam de Wyke (*Painswick*) nobis eam confirmavit." The Canons of Llantony ought to have known, and *avunculi*

[1] This I owe to the kindness and acumen of Canon A. T. Bannister, M.A., then Vicar of Ewias Harold, and author of the History of Ewias Harold, Hereford, 1902.

[2] Walter de Laci, Abbot of St. Peter at Gloucester, 1130-1139.

[3] Maes-y-coed.

[4] Reginald and Godfrey de Scudemer occur as witnesses to a Charter by which Harald de Ewyas grants lands at Ewyas to St. Peter's, Glo'ster, 1100, p. 288, Hist. et Cart. S.P.G. Cf. also p. 76.

Gilbert de Esketot was living in 1100, and, with his wife and son Robert, he gave land to St. Peter's, in Duntesbourne Abbots for the soul of his Lord, Walter de Laci. p. 73, Vol. I.

was the word intended here. But in any case Sybil's father remains unidentified. As Hugh de Laci was buried at Weobley, Co. Hereford in 1121 the marriage of Sybil to Fitz John may quite well have taken place just before that event: for the eldest surviving daughter of the union became married to Milo's son, Roger, in 1135, when she may have been fourteen years old.

This tends to prove the correctness of the statement made by Gerald with regard to Gilbert de Laci. It will be presently shewn that Gilbert may have been the brother of Sybil Fitzjohn; for he took the name of De Laci as representing the heir-ship to the barony.

Sybil would appear to have experienced some trouble with Roger of Hereford her son-in-law after Pain Fitzjohn's decease. For, there is a Precept (in the Duchy of Lancaster Charters) from Roger,[1] Bishop of Salisbury, to her, to restore to Roger, the Earl, all the lands with which she had been endowed by her late lord, in grass, hay, and 'de vino de Maurdino,' and all other things as they were in the day when king Stephen granted them to the said Roger, son of Milo, with the said Sybil's eldest daughter, Cecilia. It is witnessed by Roger, Chancellor of Malmesbury.

Returning to the Duchy Charter, Dr Round has fixed its date by the facts that Walter de Laci, Sybil's uncle, Abbot of St Peter's, Gloucester, living at the date of the concession, died in A.D. 1139, and that Pain Fitzjohn was slain by an arrow 10th July, 1137 while attacking some Welsh rebels at Caus Castle. His body was brought to Gloucester, and solemnly buried in the monk's chapter-house, says Florence of Worcester.[2] He therefore assigned it to A.D. 1138.

It is probable that Pain[3] like so many of his contemporaries in the troublous reign of Stephen, may have castellated the manor House at Wyke, which occupied the vantage-point south of the Church of St Mary, commanding the long valley towards Pitchcombe and now occupied by both Court House and by Castle Hale. OE *healh*: ME *hale*: often and easily confused with hall, even in manor-rolls; but it meant a special corner meadow or pasture. The latter house probably derives its name from the tradition, for, in manor rolls (temp. Hen. VII.), the property is described as 'Castellum,' and later, in documents of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, as Castle Halle. Such fortification would account to us for the otherwise strange fact

[1] This was Roger, Lord Treasurer and Lord Chancellor, who died 1139.

[2] His wife's uncle, Walter de Laci, being Abbot there, as shown above.

[3] Brother of Eustace and of William Fitzjohn, Sheriff of Shropshire, c. 1127; Justice Itinerant in conjunction with Milo of Gloucester, 1130.

that Pain Fitzjohn rather than his De Monchensi descendants became commemorated here by the affixing of his name to Wyke. For Painswick was simply ' Wyck ' until the middle of the 13th c. when it became written Wyke Pagani, or Painswick, evidently in memory of Pain, who we know had no male issue and whose heirs have been two daughters. It is further probable that need had arisen to distinguish it from other manorial Wicks in the county: Wick Rissington and Wickwar. It was usual for the manorial centre to be built near the church, and the commanding site required by such a building could scarcely have been more adroitly selected than in the above position. On the other hand, we should perhaps recall that Dr Round shewed long ago that ' Castellum ' did not mean necessarily a built Castle, far less a Keep, but was a term for any fortified enclosure. It might, therefore, in the case of Castle Hale,[1] betoken some still earlier fortification at the head of some ancient track, leading up to Wyke. But there is no trace of such earthwork to be found to-day attributable to a pre-Norman date. Nevertheless, an acre of land cut off (c. 1608) by Thomas Starrage from the Hale for his lane and residence long bore the name of *White-walls*, or *White-londs*, or *White-stones*, —altered sentimentally since Stuart-times to *Whitehall*. Probability seems to point to remains of some gate or defence.

[1] The Church ' style ' in the Rolls is called ' Castle Hale style,' never ' Court-house style.' The original approach to Court House made by Th. Gardener was from Tybbywell through the upper path of the house called Gwynffa, which has been encroached upon and narrowed by the house of Mrs Birt (now Miss A. Howard's) across Hale Lane.

CASTLE HALE (*N. & E. sides*)

E. Marsland

facing p. 50

LOWER HOLCOMBE
(*Countess of Plymouth*)

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CHAPTER III.

GILBERT DE LACI (? 1108-1163) AND PAIN FITZJOHN (— 1137).

THE Duchy Charter already referred-to consists of a confirmation by King Stephen to Roger, son of Milo, Earl of Hereford, and to Cecily, his wife, of all the land which the latter's father, Pain Fitzjohn, had inherited, or acquired, together with her own marriage-portion. "Et omne maritagium quod predictum Paganus dedit filiæ suæ de Honore Hugonis de Laceio in terris et militibus. Et omne illud juris quod ipse Paganus habebat in toto honore Hugonis de Laceio sicut ipse Paganus dedit et concessit illum ipsi Rogerio cum filia sua de actis suis hac subscripta maneria."

From this it appears, (1) that Pain Fitzjohn, at the time of his death (July 10th 1137), and for some sixteen years time prior to that event, possessed in right of his wife Sybil certain rights over the entire Honour[1] of the late Hugh de Laci, who has now been proved to have been his wife's maternal uncle; and that (2) Pain had given to his daughter Cecilia, Countess of Hereford, on her marriage with Roger (Fitz-Milo), certain lands in dower from her surviving mother's Honour, including the manors of Wyke (Painswick), and Edgworth; finally (3), that King Stephen confirmed all these rights to Cecilia, after Pain's decease.

At that date Hugh de Laci had been dead (c.) sixteen years. Having left no son to succeed him, King Henry, had conferred in trust upon Pain Fitzjohn, who married Hugh's niece Sybil, the whole of his Honour (*ie* some 115 Manors, of which 27 were situated in Gloucestershire). This Pain had evidently enjoyed (in addition to his own acquired property) until the arrow of a Welsh-man put an end to his life, and the monks of Gloucester received his remains into their Chapter-house.

But it must not be forgotten that when (1095-6) Hugh de Laci's elder brother, Roger, had been banished and deprived for rebellion he had been permitted to retain one Manor, namely, Halhagan-cum-Bradwasse, in Worcestershire (p, 39 *n*.) The family fief in France, at Lasci, in the diocese of Bayeux, had been passed over to King Henry's own natural son, Robert, Earl of Gloucester. But the former (Worcestershire) Manor was still Roger's in 1108, and

[1] The Baronia of this branch of De Laci was of Weobley, Co. Hereford.

at no time does it appear to have passed to Hugh de Laci, his brother, nor to Pain Fitzjohn. We do not know the date of Roger de Laci's death. Yet, under King Stephen we shall see the De Laci Honour return to the original Family.

The fief at Lasci is mentioned in the list of knights holding fiefs of the Bishop of Bayeux in 1133 (Cf. Lib. Rubeus, p. 646, Rolls Series). " Feodum De Lasci ii milites." That is to say, each of the two branches (Gloucestershire and Yorkshire) of De Laci possessed one fee there—one being at Lasci (whence their name), the other, at Campeaux. Both these had been forfeited and were bestowed by King Henry upon the Earl of Gloucester. For the representatives of both branches, Roger de Laci of Weobley and Painswick, and Robert de Laci, Lord of Pontefract, had equally been concerned in Robert Duke of Normandy's rebellion. The claims to these, their respective possessions in the Diocese of Bayeux were retained by the said first Earl of Gloucester until 1146, when, by reference to the Cal$^{r.}$ of Documents of France (Ed. J. H. Round), it is seen that he surrendered " tota feoda Ilberti[1] et Gilberti de Laceio quæ tenebant apud Laceium et Campels (sic)." That is to say, King Stephen restored to the two representatives of Roger and Robert de Laci, Ilbert and Gilbert, their family-lands over-sea above-mentioned, and William the next Earl of Gloucester acknowledged the Bishop of Bayeux to be once more their rightful overlord.

As Ilbert de Laci (of the Yorkshire branch) appears in 1136 a witness to Stephen's Charter of Liberties, it is clear that he had then returned to England. His name also occurs as witness to two other grants of that year. Ælred of Rivaulx records that he had been in banishment throughout the reign of Henry (d. 1135) " tempore Regis Henrici exulans." From Richard of Hexham we learn that by the said Charter of Liberties whatever Henry had taken from Robert de Laci his son Ilbert regained. Henry had granted the Honour of Pontefract to William Maltravers ; and, apparently, one of Ilbert's own retainers, named Pain, presently slew Maltravers ; and a charter (Class 25, 9, Duchy of Lancaster) lets us know that Stephen *pardons* the men of Ilbert de Laci for that murder.

With regard to Gilbert de Laci, (of the Gloucestershire branch), no mention of his restoration occurs, nor does his name appear among those of the witnesses to the ' Charter of Liberties ' given at Oxford in 1136. On the other hand, at the opening of the Civil War, within two years of this (1137-8), he and his kinsman Geoffrey de Talbot, appear together in arms and defending Weobley, in Herefordshire, at Bristol (May), and at Bath, under the command

[1] This Ilbert was the son of Robert de Laci.

of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, on behalf of his sister the Empress Maud against the new King. The south-west of England (with the exception of Gloucester) was becoming solid against Stephen. Milo of Gloucester, the sheriff, welcomed the King to the royal Castle of that city in May 1138, and at this time, or but little before it, Stephen confirmed to Milo's son Roger, and to Cecilia the latter's twain inheritances both from Hugh de Laci and Pain Fitzjohn.

That being so, hope of recovery of the entire De Laci Honour by Gilbert de Laci from Stephen was obviously put beyond present possibility. Moreover, that sealed him to the side of the Empress, from whose possible successes much might some day be won,—that is from Milo and Roger. By the summer of 1139, however, Milo and Roger had themselves so effectually cooled off from Stephen that they were preparing to receive and welcome the Empress herself on her arrival in September of that year. Later she was personally invited from Bristol to Gloucester by Milo, and there she conferred upon him the reward of his conversion by granting him the Constableship of St. Briavels and the Forest of Dean. Stephen deprived him, on the other hand, of the hereditary Constableship of England. From this, by Charter of July 25, 1141 (Cf. Fœdera 1, 8), Maud further advanced him to the Earldom of Hereford, and one of the witnesses to her Charter was Gilbert de Laci. His hopes may have looked bright and partial reconciliation must have taken place.

This proves at once both Gilbert's fidelity to her cause and his personal prominence, but we do not gather what, if any, reward was granted him by her for his own services. That he would endeavour to recover his family possessions we may be sure, and indeed, finally he became possessed of these. But he was now brought into unpleasantly close contact with Milo's son Roger, who was enjoying some of these with Pain Fitzjohn's daughter. We shall find later on that dangerous differences did naturally arise between them, and we shall see Roger even conspiring to disinherit Gilbert de Laci. It is manifest that the Empress, having gained so important a champion as Milo, would scarcely care to advance De Laci's claims against those of Milo's own son.

During the next two years the cause of the Empress suffered gravely in spite of Milo's wealth and influence. His accidental death in the Forest of Dene on Christmas Day 1143 only quickened its downfall. She found herself besieged at Oxford by Stephen himself. There is neither evidence to prove that Gilbert de Laci forsook her cause for that of Stephen, or that the Empress recompensed him for his services. The only notice of him in 1146 is contained in a document (already mentioned), which says that her

half-brother Robert, Earl of Gloucester, surrended all his claims over the fiefs of Ilbert and Gilbert de Laci (in France), to the Bishop of Bayeux. In this year the Empress hastily withdrew to Normandy. In the following year, 1147, Robert, died.

No sooner does Henry II. succeed to Stephen's throne than a strange gleam is thrown upon the position of Gilbert de Laci by the survival of a treaty of alliance signed between Roger, now Earl of Hereford, and William, Earl of Gloucester (neither of them in favour with the new king), and directed especially to the disinheriting of Gilbert[1] (Duchy of Lancaster, Box A. No. 4, N.D.). This is called somewhat curiously a 'Treaty of Love.' From it we cannot but conclude that Gilbert de Laci had successfully pressed some portion of his claims to the inheritance of his forebears in the De Laci Honour at the expense of Earl Roger. Other sources, however, discover the ill-favour accorded by the new king to Roger, and indeed to all the sons of Milo. For instance, when Earl Roger (then become a monk at Lantony) died childless,[2] the king refused to allow any of them to succeed him in his earldom, which he sequestrated. His ground for so doing was in part no doubt that it had been questionably conferred upon Earl Roger's father by the Empress eleven years before. How had Gilbert de Laci recovered his family lands ? Is it possible that the Empress restored some of them ? Anyhow, following this we find proof of Henry's own favour. The Pipe Roll of 1157 (4 Hen. II.) shews Gilbert, under new pleas and agreements, in possession of family fiefs in the three counties of Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and Salop,[3] and that is in the very year that Earl Roger of Hereford died. At the same time we find him excused the 'Donum' to the king, and a little later occurs the said king's 'confirmatio' to him of the possession of Stanton, Ludlow, and Ewyas ; in fact, he has recovered the Lordships of Ludlow and Ewyas ; and all the family fees in the other counties, excepting, of course, Wyke, or Painswick, and others of the marriage-portions of Cecilia (now widow of Roger), and of his own near kinswoman, her widowed mother Sybil Fitzjohn. It is clear, therefore, that Henry II on

[1] "Saving the hostage given to Earl Roger by Earl William in favour of Robert, Earl of Leicester."

[2] October, 1157.

[3] (1) Herefordshire.
Et in pdoñ p brevia Regis. Gilberto de Lasci. IX. li. et III. sol :
(2) Gloucestershire.
Nova Placita et novæ Conventiones et Gilberto de Lasci. XXVI. sol. et VIII. den.
(3) Shropshire.
Et Gilberto de Lasci, IIII. lib. et IIII. sol. et IX. den.
Et Willelmo fratri Reginæ, VI. sol. et IX. den.

coming to the throne (1154), had refused to confirm certain pretensions of Earl Roger. Hence the latter's conspiracy against Gilbert de Laci was totally defeated.

The widow of Fitzjohn had survived, and the Cartulary of Ewyas Harold now affords proof of Gilbert de Laci's position. He confirms Sybil's former grant of Leghe (See p. 48 note 1) to the Abbey of St Peter (Gloucester) made before 1139 under her uncle Walter de Laci's Abbacy there, and later he increases that grant by an addition of pasture situated in the forest of Mascoit.[1]

A tried warrior with important possessions along the Welsh border was a personage of special value to the crown in those violent days. There had to be combated not merely the Welsh but conspiring Barons, whose violences brought about sieges of Wigmore, Cleobury, and Bridgnorth, undertaken presently by the King himself. A second royal expedition to Wales took place in 1158. We need not question that on these occasions Gilbert de Laci distinguished himself, as also did his son Hugh, (5th Baron) afterwards the invader of Ireland, and founder of Killeen Castle.[2] The latter, eight years later, is found to be the holder of Weobley and sixty fees in Herefordshire alone. (Liber Rubeus, Vol. 1, page 281. R.S.)

We do not know to whom Gilbert de Laci was married. On the other hand, while he is seen giving houses and lands to the support of a Preceptory for the Knights of S. John at Quenington,[3] including land near Temple Guiting (thence Black John's Pool) and Winchcombe, we find an Agnes de Laci in 1166 (or three years after Gilbert's decease while fighting against Noureddin, Sultan of Aleppo, for the release of Bertrand, the captive Grand Master of the Temple[4]) also giving the benefice of Quenington with all its appurtenances to the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England. This was done in conjunction with Cecilia, Countess of Hereford, who had by then taken to herself a second husband, William of Poitou. We take this Agnes de Laci to have been no other than Gilbert's wife.

The question arises, who was the father of Gilbert de Laci? Gerald, who lived and wrote in the days of Gilbert's grandson, declares that Gilbert was son of a sister to Roger, Hugh and Walter de Laci, and he names

[1] Confirmatio Gilberto de Lacieo, testibus Hugo de Eschet, Fratre Roberti et aliis,—de pastura in foresta de Maschoit ;—confirming and adding to Sybilla Fitzjohn's grant of wood and stone for building and pasture for cattle. Cartul : Ewyas. (Cf. Hist. of Ewias Harold, p. 54.) Canon A. T. Bannister.

[2] County Meath.

[3] Dugdale. Monasticon, pp. 548-9.

[4] The expedition was made under Guy de Lusignan's command.

her Emma. Further, he relates that he therefore took the name of De Laci in order to inherit their estates. This, in default of other more direct evidence, has been hitherto accepted as his origin, and Gerald was a writer, if not impeccably accurate, likely to have known. Emma de Laci had been the mother of Roger and his brothers :[1] so the name of Emma was already connected with the family-name. Mr A. S. Ellis has conjectured that Ermelina de Hesding, wife of Arnulf de Hesding, was a sister of the above three brothers, but Ermelina is not the same as Emma, though cases of confusion may easily have occurred between these. As to Gilbert having changed his name (and we are not told what that was) in order to inherit De Laci's lands, it should be remembered that he appears on the scene as Gilbert de Laci in the year following Pain Fitzjohn's death, namely 1138, though he did not possess the said lands until fifteen years later. Firstly, he does not come to the front until after the death of Henry I. who had years before confirmed the banishment of Roger. Secondly, in 1146, the fief of Roger in the Diocese of Bayeux is mentioned with that of his kinsman Robert, under the names of Gilbert and Ilbert de Laci. ' Tota feoda Ilberti et Gilberti de Laceio quæ jure tenebant apud Lacium et Campels (Campeaux).' To these, which had been granted to his own son by Henry I. upon their former confiscation, that Earl long laid claim. The tense of ' tenebant ' looks as though both these De Laci Barons had been allowed to hold their respective fiefs in France by Henry I. as from his natural son, and that would account satisfactorily for Gilbert being found fighting for the Empress under the banner of Earl Robert himself at the sieges of Bristol and Bath.

[1] Cf. Cart. Mon. Glouc. Vol. I., p. 15.

CHAPTER IV.

ROGER FITZ-MILO, EARL OF HEREFORD, AND CECILIA FITZJOHN—CECILIA'S OTHER HUSBANDS—HER SISTER AGNES DE MONCHENSI SUCCEEDS TO PAINSWICK—INSECURITY—PRODUCTS OF THE MANOR—LIFE THERE.

AFTER the death of Pain Fitzjohn (1137), we have to notice the descent of his daughters' Manor here during the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. The elder, Cecilia, the countess, had no issue. Agnes was married twice and her descendants eventually possessed Painswick for four centuries. They will take us through the 12th century, for these two ladies attained to extreme old age for that time, and died in that of King John.

Roger, Earl of Hereford, is recorded to have tried to divorce his wife by reason of her giving him no children, a misfortune, however, which he curiously shared with each of his married brothers. All these sons of Milo the Constable seem to have been regarded as an exceptionally wicked brood. The Register of the Abbey of Lillieshall calls Roger 'Vir bellicosus,' and speaking of Payn Fitzjohn,[1] "cujus filiam (Cecilia) Rogerus, Comes Herefordiæ, duxit in uxorem, quam, postea sprevit." Toward the end of his life, he laid down the sword, and became a monk of Lantony Abbey, Gloucester; his wife probably continued to reside on her property at Wyke, where we have been led to infer that her father, Pain, had built a 'Castellulum.'[2] This event in Roger's life, *ie*—turning Monk, took place after A.D. 1152, but before A.D. 1157, which proved to be the last year of his life. The wife therefore whom he had spurned outlived him by half a century.

Within a short time of the Earl's demise Cecilia married her second husband, William of Poitou.[3] This is proved, among other sources, by a suit brought in Easter term, 1232, by Sir Warine de Monchensi, in which he traces certain of his rights in Wyke to "Cecilia[4] Comitissa, ut antecessor, quia obiit

[1] 'Pain, whose daughter Cecilia Roger Earl of Hereford married, whom afterwards he scorned.'

[2] Possibly pulled down in part after the accession of Henry II.

[3] His possessions will be seen on referring to *Liber Rubens*. p. 266. A.D. 1166.

[4] "Cecilia, the Countess, as his ancestress, because she died without child to succeed her, and her sister Agnes became her heir." Cf. p. 84, note 1.

sine herede de se, descendit jus terræ illius cuidam Agneti, ut sorori et heredi." From Agnes, therefore, these rights, together with Painswick, descended to her son by Warine I de Monchensi, namely, to William II de Monchensi, father of Warine, the second. In the suit cited further on, speaking of Walter of Mayenne[1] (Cecilia's third husband), Warine mentions William de Poitou as the latter's predecessor. The Charters of 1166 show us this Walter de Mayenne holding one fee in Painswick. This was ' jure uxoris : ' (by right of his wife) ; hence, William of Poitou having married Cecilia (Lady of Painswick and Countess of Hereford) after 1157, must have died before 1166. " Et mortuo predicto Willelmo,[2] cepit in virum quendam Walterum de Meinne."[3] Both Walter and Cecilia are found confirming Hugh de Laci's ' donatio ' of the advowson of Painswick Church (transferred) to the Prior and convent of the daughter house of Llantony at Gloucester (Cf. pp. 8-9 Hist. of St Mary, Painswick).

Walter[4] died before 1190, but Cecilia lived on into a great old age, being still alive in 1202. She died without leaving issue by any of her three husbands. A more intimate link between Cecilia and Painswick is now afforded by (Cf. *Final Appendix*) shewing that it was she who subinfeudated Ebbworth that became an important estate of the Abbey of St Peter's at Gloucester. They were discovered by the writer in 1917-18 between two leaves of Abbot Froucester's cartulary accidentally stuck together. In the first she says that she has granted to Walter of Bayeux for his service and homage to hold in fee, her land at Ebbworth which her father's ' Provisioner ' (*herbergiator*) Osbert had enjoyed, together with woods, paths, pastures and mills etc. and to render six pence at 4 terms in the year, and he pays her 100

[1] Also. Cf. *Liber Rubeus :* Cecilia Comitissa Herefordiæ quæ fuit uxor Walteri de Meduana, &c. p. 70 (A.D., 1201-2).

[2] William of Poitou being dead she married Walter of Mayenne.

[3] I owe knowledge of these facts, in the first instance, to the late Dr J. H. Round.

[4] *Liber Rubeus de Scaccario.*
Walter de Meduana, Kent (A.D., 1167-8, a. 14, Hen. II., Fol. 53.
xxiij *l.* j.m. : et de novo xx *s.*
Assisum Scutagium Galweiæ ad xx Solidos. Kent. Walterus de Meduana.
xv *l.* (1186-7, a. xxxiii, fol. 57/8.
Scutagium Walliæ Assisum ad. x *s.* (1190-1, a. 2 Ric. I., fol. 62, p. 70)
Honor W[i] de Monchensi xxix *l.* xxix milites. (1194-5, a. 6 Ric. I., fol. 64, p. 79.)
Kent.
Ad Redemptionem ejus.
Scutagium ad, xx *s.*
Scutagium Normanniæ ad. xx *s.* Honor W[i] de M. Kent. xxix *l.* per Ceciliam C[m] Herfordiæ, et Will. de M. C. xxix milites. 1196-7, a. 8 Ric. I., fol. 67-8, p. 96.
(Cecilia) Comitissa Herefordiæ (cf., p. 135. A.D., 1201-2), quæ fuit uxor W[i] de Meduana xiiij *l.* x. *s.* de Scutagio militum de Vetere feffamento—xxix milites.

shillings of silver. The chief witness was William Fitzjohn, her uncle, who died in 1175. The estate amounted to 120-60 acres. Some years later (c. 1205) Walter transferred it for the good of his soul upon the altar of the Chapter-House at Gloucester to the Abbot and Convent of St. Peter. The witnesses to this were the lord of Brimsfield, Helias III de Giffard, Roger the parson of Wyck (Painswick) and two others. Walter the grantor further gives the Abbey whatsoever he possesses in the manor or vill of Wyck. At a later time we find Edward I (a. 28) granting Free-warren at Ebbworth manor, and Prinknash, Standish and Pitchcombe, likewise to the Abbey (Cf. Register B f. 168 and f. 31 b. Abbot Froucester, Chapt. House Libr. referred-to in part, in vol. XLI pt. 1, pp. 90-92. Trans. Br. and Glos. Arch. Soc.) It was still known as a manor in 1711 and one Court roll is recorded.

We can reckon her age closely by means of her younger sister's known age ; and, therefore, the length of her reign at Painswick and other manors. In Grimaldi's Rotulus de Dominabus (1185) we read :—

" Agnes de Muntchenesey est in donatione Domini Regis et est LX. annorum, que (fuit) filia Pagani filii Johannis, et habet iii filios, primogenitus vocatur Radulphus (Ralph), et secundus Willelmus, qui ambo sunt milites : tertius vocatur Hubertus, et est clericus . . . et dicta Domina tenet de Radulpho, filio suo." Agnes was still living in 1211.

Ralph, therefore, was actual lord of the Manor of Painswick after his father's decease, and as eldest son may have been about 35 in 1185. In 1194-5, however, a. vi. Ric. I we find his younger brother assessed XX^{s} for Scutage for ransom of the King, upon his lands in Co. Kent, and Essex. Ralph died c. 1189/90. *William his brother* paid for his relief (a. 2 Rich. I) and died 1204. He held XXIX fees (a. 5. John) and one fee ' *de novo*.' His wife was *Avelina de Clare* whose mother married (2ndly) *Wm. de Albini* V*th*, *E. of Arundel*, father of Wm. VIth E. of Arundel. His sons were *William* (d. 1212) and *Warine* (2) *de Monchensi* who succeeded him. This VIth Earl of A, thus became Warine's Guardian.

Agnes was thus born in 1125. Cecilia, her elder sister, was married in 1136, being probably about 14 years of age. Consequently, she had attained four-score years when she died (c. 1204). But her sister survived her many years.

Until Cecilia died half of Painswick remained her own property : that is to say, during the rest of the twelfth century. Her sister, Agnes, evidently a widow in 1185, is shown to be in the guardianship of the King : and thus she might still be sought in marriage, according to feudal regulations, and given away by him, though probably no lord could decently press her into re-marriage. She nevertheless did marry (2ndly) *Stephen de Bidun*, son of the

holder of another *Honour*. What property she held here and elsewhere, as the widow of Warin (I) de Monchensi, she then held from her son Sir Ralph ; but Ralph did not live to inherit the whole of Painswick from his aunt Cecilia and his mother Agnes, though he certainly superintended the Manor for both, as its Lord, and, as such, he obtained special privileges from Henry II (Cf. *Lib. Rubeus* 2 cclxxii 22).

A Charter of King John, confirming a gift of land and advowson at Ketebrok (? Kidbrook), by Cecilia, to the Prior and Canons of St. Mary Overie, at Southwark, mentions *William de Monchensi, her nephew and heir*, as having confirmed her gift. (Cf. Monasticon Angl : p. 86, Vol. III). Of course, the right to inherit came through Agnes though she never personally handed on more of the Manor of Painswick than her own marriage-portion in it ; being nearly eighty years of age when her sister Cecilia died (c. 1204). Men lived usually short lives in the middle ages, but it seems that octogenarian ladies were not rare, at least in Painswick.

In 1189-90, William de Monchensi I. paid Relief (*succession duty*), for the estate of his elder brother. His mother Agnes held her lands henceforward from him. He had married Aveline dau. of Roger de Clare, E. of Hertford, *not* of Gloucester, but dying in 1204 (a. 6. John: *Rot. de Fin.* p. 227), he left issue, namely William II and Warine. 1204-6. Comes de Arundel (William de Albini) habet respectum de mille marcis reddendis a festo S. Michaelis a regni Domini Regis VI^to^ et VII^to^ annis pro habendo custodia terræ et heredis Wilhelmi de Munkensi.

Cecilia probably had passed Painswick over to her nephew as her heir male ; albeit, she herself duly appears paying scutage on her Kentish lands in 1201. But he likewise appears on that Roll, evidently as representing her, and with her. (Cf. *Lib Rubeus*, p. 96). (Cecilia) Comitissa Herfordiæ xiiij milites et dimidium, ut iiij=fourteen knights and a half, assessed as four. These were her widow's share of the 29 Kentish fees which had belonged to her late (third) husband, Walter of Mayenne.

We find Agnes de Monchensi living in 1210-12, holding half a fee from the Bishop of Rochester :—

" Agnes de Monte Kanesey, dimidium feodum in Heslingham." (*Lib Rubeus*, p. 473, Kent) ; at which time she was nearly over 85. They had both been born in the reign of Henry I and it was now nearing that of Henry III !

William de Monchensi, besides these lands belonging to his aunt, held a vast family Barony, of which Painswick could form but a part. Let us glance, however, for but a moment at the Salopian and Herefordshire Manors

of Hugh de Laci and Pain Fitzjohn,[1] in which Cecilia and Agnes had inherited certain possessions.

Richard I., ann : 9 (1197).

" Willelmus de Monchensi finem fecit cum Domino Rege per cc (200) marcas Argenti pro se et Comitissa Cecilia, matertera sua, pro recto suo habendo de Ludelawe,[2] cum pertinentiis et de Wibelay (Weobley)[3] et de T. . . . cas, cum omnibus pertinentibus suis, Et. Willelmus predictus intravit ad predictum debitum solvendum. Predictus Willelmus et Comitissa posuerunt loco suo Willelmum de Manerio, et Gilbertum Russel, ad lucrandum vel perdendum."

This William, therefore, managed his ancient aunt's possessions for her, when she had relapsed into widowhood for the third time.

Agnes de Monchensi had held £15, or 15 librates, in Kent, in 1186-7 (33 Hen. II.) In 1210 (*Lib Rubeus*, p. 496), we find William de Monchensi, her son,[4] holding Hanegefeld in Essex, as part of the family Barony, ' per ij milites,' also a fee in Bike, Lincolnshire, of the Honour of Richmond (Lib. Rub., p. 520) ; half a fee in London (p. 541), and a fee of the Honour of Henry, Earl of Essex (de Mandeville) p. 597. There were also two knights' fees owned by him in Norfolk (p. 480).

In 1212, William II. de Monchensi died, and his brother and heir Warine, born 1192 (so he was aged 20-21), gave a fine for livery of the whole inheritance of 2,000 marks[5] to the King, while his stepfather, the Earl of Arundel and James Le Savage gave Warine's agreements to the King in order that the properties might be quit of all debts then owing to the Jews.[6] (Cf. *Pipe Roll* a. 16 John *Kent*). Warinus de Montchensi reddit compotum de MM. marcis pro habendo terra sua que eum hereditarie contingit, et ut quietus sit de omnibus debitis Judeorum. (*Rot. de Finibus* p. 514).

This included Painswick, and during his tenure of the Manor for forty years we learn many fresh facts about it. Cf. p. 77, 80. In 1215 accordingly Warine de Monchensi aged above 21 is at Warwick with his guardian, William, Earl of Arundel.

In the Roll of Fines (p. 227) for the year 1204, this Earl and his then

[1] Abbreviatio Placitorum, p. 21.

[2] Ludlow.

[3] Hugh de LaciI. is believed to have been interred at Weobley.

[4] He had succeeded his father William II. in 1204.

[5] A mark was worth 13s. 4d.

[6] This probably represents one-fourth the annual value of Warine's Barony.

ward appear thus : " Comes de Arundel[1] (William de Albini) habet respectum (respite) de mille marcis[2] reddendis a festo S. Michaeleis Anno Regni Dom. Regis sexto in V. annos pro habendo custodia terræ et hæredis Willelmi de Munchensi."

We see here an instance of the wardship of the heir permitted on certain terms to a kinsman of the heir by the Sovereign. William, the Earl, was, of course, in addition, a powerful minister of the Crown.

Within a few years of Warine's succession to his honours, we obtain rather a sinister glimpse at the state of public security in Painswick in particular and of that of the County of Gloucester in General. The Pleas of the Crown present us with the following gruesome occurrences :

" Miscreants came by night to the house of Geoffrey, son of Godwin, of Wyke, and killed him, his wife, Maud, his mother, Edith, and his two sons, and a daughter. It is unknown whom they were. Englishry not presented."[3]

Again, the same year (2) :

" Malefactores venerunt ad domum Ricardi filii Nicholai (Richard Fitz-Nicolas), et occiderunt ipsum Nicholaum et uxorem suam, et filium ejus, scilicet quotquot fuerunt in domo illa. Nullus malecreditus : Englisheria non fuit presentata : et ideo tria murdra."

And (3)

" Burgatores[4] (burglars) venerunt ad domum Ricardi Rugge[5] de Wyke, et ipsum et uxorem suam, et totam familiam suam ligaverunt : (tied up the entire household) et nullus venit preter ipsum Ricardum, quia nullus attachiatus fuit. (No one appeared in the matter except Richard, for no one was caught). Nullus inde male creditur, et ideo nichil."

It is evident these wholesale family murders were done by gangs of robbers who left no witness alive. In fact, the late Professor Maitland, writing of the Roll of Pleas, whence these cases are presented, says : " It bears witness to an enormous mass of violent crime : but in far the greater number of cases, either no person is suspected of the crime, or the suspected

[1] William de Albini, Earl of Lincoln, had been made Earl of Arundel in Sussex by a Charter of Henry II., 1155. The present Earl was his grandson, whom we see abandoning the cause of John against Louis of France in 1216.

[2] £666 13s. 4d.

[3] Englishry (*ie* English nationality) had to be proven by kinsfolk of the victim : two males on the father's side, and one male on the mother's. The unknown murderers in this case were regarded as foreigners. The village would be fined for the dead bodies until the criminals were found.

[4] Breakers into the Burgh or Borough property.

[5] Another local place-name—The Rudge.

person has escaped and no more can be done than to outlaw him." (Cf. p. xxxiii. Pleas of the Crown, Glos.).

It is necessary to bear in mind, while thinking of our own days, that at that period there was no professional police. The townships were bound to present crimes committed within their survey at the local Courts, but there was no Governmental police. Every man carried a knife (*cniphatum ; canif.*) In many Manors the Trials were begun at the Hall-moot (Hali-mote). Pecuniary penalties or amercements had the effect of keeping alive a strong sense of duty. The money went to the Treasury.

Sir Warine (after 1218) presently married Joan, fifth daughter of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, chief adviser to the young king, Henry III.[1] We next find him carrying through a contest with the prior of 'Llantony secunda,' concerning certain rights connected with the advowson of Painswick church, which (we saw) was possessed by that Prior and Convent. This ended in an amicable agreement, but although the matter has already received notice in a History of that church (p. 14), it may find proper mention here.

" Recognitio Magnæ Assizæ facta est inter nos (Prior et Conventus Lantonæ apud Gloucestriam) et Warinum de Monte Canisio in Curia Domini Regis, et ibi Dictus Warinus remisit et quietum clamavit nobis successoribus nostris advocationem dictæ Ecclesiæ (De Wyke). Et nos concessimus dicto Warino et hæredibus suis admittere tres idoneos clericos ad Canonicos faciendum in Ecclesia Lanthonæ, ita quod uno mortuo alter admittendum ad celebrandum divinia pro anima ejusdem et antecessorum ejusdem, et ut die Anniversarii Willelmi de Monte Canisio patris dicti Warini pascamur mille pauperes ita quod quilibet pauper habebit vinum, panem, ad valentiam unius oboli singulis annis in perpetuum, per visum Decani Gloucestriæ." (MS Registrum Lantonæ, at *Thirlestane House*, Cheltenham).

By this deed[2] is shown how Warine released and quit-claimed the advowson of Painswick church to the Prior and Convent of Llantony Secunda.

[1] His wife, Joan, died (c) May, 1247. As his dau., Joan, was m. Aug. 13, 1247, and was (probably) 12–13, she may have been born c. 1235.

A son *John de Monchensi* died June 1247, leaving his sister Joan his heir (Cal : Doc. Ireland, ii, 1109, 1350). His heir became William born (c) 1249, by his second wife.

[2] Another grant of Warine's from his Payneswick demesne, of both tithes and land occurs in the Lantony Register :—

Warinus de Monte Canisio concessit et confirmavit Abbati Gloucestrie et Priori et Conventui (*ie. St. Guthlac*) *Herefordiæ* duas Decimas garbarum de demanio suo in Wyke et de illis quo de Dominio suo tenent et unam virgatam terre cum duobus tenementis et messuagiis eorumdem Et duas partes omnium minutarum decimarum, excepto columbario (from the Dovecote) quas ab antiquo percipere consueverunt et confirmavit Domino Abbati et conventui. *Registrum Llantonæ.*

The Prior and Convent in return agreed to admit three priests to be canons in their Convent in order to be able fitly to celebrate masses for the souls of Warine and his ancestors. Moreover, on the anniversary of the death of William de Monchensi, Warine's father, they promised to feed with bread and wine of the value of an obolus (half-penny) one thousand poor persons. John de Norwich was the Prior, and this agreement was signed before the Justice, William de Culewich, in the King's Court, February 9th, 1237.[1]

But it is time to ask if there are any extant deeds which can throw light on the positions occupied by these later De Monchensi lords toward many lands which they held in chief from the King? For such properties were subject to various fines and burdens, while some were specially exempted from these, or from certain of them. Fortunately, a deed, dating Nov. 15, 1280 at Westminster bears a direct retrospective value for the question in point. It runs thus :—Whereas Henry II. (1154-1188) by charter granted to Ralph de Monchensi, kinsman of William de Monchensi (1280), whose heir he (*ie* the latter) is, that his lands and men should be quit of shires, and hundreds, and suits, and his days, and all plaints that belong to the shires and hundreds, except murder and treasure, and the said William de Monchensi and his ancestors, by reason of such grant, had the Views of Frank-Pledge and the Sheriff's Tourn in all their lands and fees until the King (Edward I.) deraigned the said View and Tourn of their men and tenants in the County of Kent, (which are estimated at 8s. 3½d. yearly), before the justices last in Eyre in that county, against the said William (de Monchensi) by reason of abuse of the said liberties,—the King now restores the same to him and grants that, although the said William and his ancestors have far from fully used the said liberties, he may now fully use them and have the same View (of Frank-Pledge) and Tourn at a yearly rental of 8s. 3½d. (Cal : Pat. R. 1280, p. 404, Memb. 1).

This may be supplemented by another deed relating to the same William (son of Warine) de Monchensi, dated a. 4 Edward I. (= 1275). It is taken from the ' Hundred Rolls ', and relates only to Painswick.

They aver that the same Lord William de Monchensi " claims to exercise in his Manor of Payneswicke Assise of bread and ale, View of Frank Pledge, gallows, tumbrel, pillory, and Suit of four tithingmen of the Hundred (Bisley) in the Hundred where all these rights are exercised."

He was then summoned before the King's Justice (Inge) to declare " by what warrant[2] he exercised these rights and also Free-Warren, in that Manor."

[1] Cf. Pedes Finium. Glos. : Hen. : III., No. 217. This seems to have been observed down to the Dissolution. (Cf. Valor Eccles : Vol. 2).

[2] Et quesitum fuit ab eo si habeat furcas et alia judicalia (Rot. Hund : p. 251).

He then answered by his attorney that Henry II. had granted these rights to his ancestor, Sir Ralph de Monchensi, whose heir he is. (Cf. *Placita de Quo Warranto*). These Rights, which had been admitted, and confirmed by Henry III 29th July, 1244, at Woodstock, became again confirmed by Edward I., 10th, Sep. 1284, at Winchester.

This makes it clear that Painswick, at any rate from Henry II. onward, remained an important organized Estate, in which successive De Monchensi lords of the Manor exercised (holding from the King in chief) full magisterial powers in the administration of Justice : further, that it had long been constituted of four tithings, or sub-divisions, for that especial purpose, and we know by later Rolls of the Manor what these four tithings were : namely, Spoonbed, Edge, Shepscombe, and Stroud-end. Here it may be well to append a valuable note of Maitland's : " Theothinga, thethinga, and tithinga : *decenna* : an Association of ten people whose duty it is to bring to justice those charged with crime. The town (Villata) should provide that all its residents belong to such an association, else the town will be amerced itself. This does not refer to the territorial district, at least, primarily . . . It was the Sheriff's duty to hold a view of Frank-Pledge, *ie* to see that such associations were in existence, and to amerce the townships. In many Manors the view of Frank-Pledge was in the lord's hands." We have, therefore, seen that this was and it remained the case in Painswick. It was therefore a privileged manor and we shall see that Views of Frank-Pledge were held here by its lords as late as 1636; Ebbworth being still an appendent manor to it.

The tithingman was therefore a sort of police-constable of the people's own election and responsible for them. He was to present any crimes committed among them to the Lord of the manor at his Court-Leet ; wherefore, he stood as their Pledge or Surety. It must not be forgotten that these judicial powers exercised by the Lord were also to his pecuniary advantage ; and he was empowered to make his own bye-laws. In certain manors (though never at Painswick), the Sheriff took the place of the Lord, but in the lord's absence his presidency was usually delegated to the Steward of the manor. The Steward or Seneschal was therefore a highly responsible personage.

But, besides the Views of Frank-Pledge, held from time to time (usually twice a year), at which misdemeanours and crimes were bound to be adjudicated, later there were held Courts-Leet, with a jury, for Criminal Jurisdiction. " If the lord had a grant of View of Frank-Pledge his tenants were released from attendance at the Sheriff's tourn." (Stubbs : *Const. Hist. vol. I.*, 431). " There is no doubt that the same principles of legal procedure were used in these as in the popular Courts : the juratores and judices were there as well as

in the Shire and the Hundred ; compurgation and ordeal ; fines for non-attendance ; the whole accumulation of ancient custom as well as Norman novelty. They were, in fact, public jurisdictions vested in private hands, descending hereditarily with the hereditary estate, and only recoverable by the Crown, either by forcible resumption of the estates, or by a series of legal enactments such as reduced the dangers of private authortiy by increasing the pressure of central administration." (*idem.*)

We may, therefore, picture severer days when Painswick, in addition to a small manorial castle south of the Norman Church, saw the severe justice of mediæval days administered somewhere in her midst by means of gallows, fire-and-water-ordeals, branding, flogging and fining. The stocks and the whipping-post were the latest remnants of these ; and the latest (an iron), ' edition ' of the Stocks[1] is still with us (1929), though not in its proper site. These are sometimes called ' *Squire's Specks* '. Yet we shall later on notice Sir Antony Kingston, himself once a Sheriff of Gloucester and lord of this Manor in Tudor days, setting up and endowing a Gallows at Shepscombe, remains of which lasted there until 1792.

Of the minor and usual misdemeanours inquired into by such or other Courts with their Jurors and Constables, may be mentioned, encroachments on highways, or obstructions, diversions of watercourses, fouling of springs, neglecting to lop trees, or felling growing young-trees, ill-conducted ale-houses, excessive tolls, stealing of timber or game, and small assaults. These continued to be dealt with by those Courts long after the more serious crimes had been turned over to the Assizes and the powers of dealing with them had entirely passed away from Manor-Lords.

But the Manorial Court ' par excellence ' was, of course, the Court Baron, or Hall-moot, " ancient gemot of the township, in which bye-laws were made, and other local business transacted," here held in an especial building or Court-House that stood between the Manor-house and the church. This was a Court of homagers, or copy-holders of the manor presided over by the Reeve or Prepositus. It had two purposes: one to receive the rents due to the lord, and the other to inquire into the condition of the estates held by Copy of court-Roll, under the lord or on lease from him, or, in later days, by tenants at will. Among other things the Homage presented the death of any copy-holder recently deceased, so that the heir-at-law or devisee might come into court pay his fine and be duly admitted tenant in his place, or, if he has left a widow, that she may be admitted a tenant for her free-bench, *ie* as long as she remains a widow and chaste. On the death of any

[1] Iron ones, made A.D. 1840(?). Last used 1861 (?).

COURT-HOUSE (East Face)

facing p. 66

COURT-HOUSE (West Face)

Copy-holder, proclamation of his death is made in open court by the Bailiff (Reeve) at three successive courts, and if no one comes at one of these courts and claims admission to the Copy-hold, the same becomes forfeited to the Lord of the manor. The Homage also present all encroachments upon the waste or commonable lands within the Manor, or trespassing upon the lord's demesne, removal of boundaries, exchanges, waste committed by Copy-holders, non-repair of copy-hold houses, cutting timber without leave, forfeiture on conviction of felony, &c.; they also declare the dropping of the lives for which the copy-holds are held.

In addition to the Copy-holders and Lease-holders of the Manors, there are the tenants at will, who occupied, generally at nominal rents, either cottages originally built by themselves or their parents upon the waste lands, or small allotments of pasture, or arable land. (Cf. *Glouc. N. and Q., Vol. IV.* 29, Charles Scott).

The arrangement of Painswick, then, in the 13th century was of this kind.—It was a village with demesne lands at Ifold, Washwell, Duddescombe, and Hamm, and it was surrounded by strips of arable land, meadow, and woodland, on which stood the dwellings of the Copy-holders. In the centre was a small Norman church (possibly in part Saxon), a Church-House, and probably Pain FitzJohn's no-longer-fortified ' Castellum ' near it, now belonging to the lord, Sir Warine de Monchensi. The demesne-lands were for the lord's exclusive use; the area around the castle, or manor-mansion, was cultivated by his servants. Hence, the names Lord's-Mead and Lady's-Mead still attach to the fields immediately below Castle Hale. An ancient road called Wick Street travelling from Birdlip, above Shepscombe, left the opposite ridge at Juniper-hill and took a direct line below Wick-ridge for 2 m. to *Stratford*, passing Brownshill, and overlooking the trout-stream. There was yet no town of Stroud. The rest of the land save the Park was cultivated and farmed by his tenants for themselves or for the lord; and none of them might leave the manor without license; some of them were actual bondmen, requiring a personal Act of Emancipation by the lord, and this bondage lasted until even the age of Elizabeth[1] (1574). Beyond it toward Ebbworth and Shepscombe lay the great Park, full of game, and its Lodge, and below that a long fishpool on the stream.

Wheat, wool, and cattle, and timber were the chief products of the Manor; there were already several flour-mills by the Wick-stream down in the valley, that is to say, between Cranham and Strode-end. As the town had a weekly Market (1253), Assize of Bread and Beer, it had its baker

[1] An original example of manumission will be adduced later on.

and bakehouse (furnum), its slaughterer, and ale-taster, also its penfold and sheep-house. The houses were small, of stone, timber and thatch, without glazing and with few chimneys. In place of the latter, there was often merely a flue, or louvre-hole. Aubrey says: "In my own remembrance, before the Civil Wars (*ie* temp. Charles I.), Copy-holders, poor people, had no glass windows." The floors were probably of stone here, the worse ones only of clay. Around the walls were the sleeping-boxes (bunks) of the family. The stone casements were rebated for wooden shutters. Such were the dwellings of the better class tenants, or liberi-tenentes: those of the nativi, or rustici, and serfs may be imagined. All were held at the Will of the lord, though custom, growing gradually, proved, more and more a means of guiding and limiting that Will.

With regard to the Customs that grew up and became permanent in Painswick an endeavour will be made to treat of them in another Chapter.

The main street of the village no doubt observed the site of the present Bisley Street, (always called until 1750 High Street), and its continuance, Barnet or North Street (now Gloucester Street).[1] New Street itself, much of it, is very old. It existed bearing that name in 1426, but probably it was young then, though of increasing importance; for it was recorded as part of *novo-vico* or new-town. Friday street had a public well, also a cross. There was the High Cross in High Street,[2] and another Cross in St Mary Street. A track to Paradise left Painswick at a point on what is now upper Gloucester Street considerably further North than the modern or Cheltenham road (of 1820-1) and part of it may be traced along the edge of the common just below the road made by the late W. H. Hyett to the cemetery. It has been recently filled up [1925].

Over and above the folk mentioned there were of course other, or sub-infeudated, tenants on the Manor, holding considerable lands from the lord. These were often well-to-do younger sons of knightly, or noble families, *ie* Clintons, Bridges and Raleghs.

In this particular Manor, at this period, then, were certain lands which had been granted to the Church by De Laci and Pain Fitzjohn, and Walter of Bayeux. The second portion (lying in the Hamm) went with the Advowson to the Prior and Convent of Llantony secunda at Gloucester;

[1] A. 8. Hen. VI. Will: Hutchins surrenders a cottage in the place called Barnet Street, in the North part of the town, between the New Hall and the tenement of Richard Parton. Possibly the very old barn behind the houses and shops is a survival or traditional structure related to the early name.

[2] High Street means the principal street.—Alta Via = High-way.

another, consisting of a virgate, or yard-land (c. 30 acres), with two tenements and messuages thereto belonged to the Abbey of St Peter at Gloucester. To the latter went also two tithes of sheaves and two portions of small tithes. It was this possession which raised the 40s. an annual pension due by the gift of Walter de Laci I. to St Peter and St Guthlac at Hereford, over which Priory the Abbot of St Peter's, Gloucester, came to exercise proprietary rights. Warine de Monchensi confirmed this grant, c. 1235, as may be seen in the 'History of St Mary at Painswick,' (p. 18). But St Peter's (as we saw) acquired a second and larger estate. For, since writing the first edition of this book were found 8 deeds relating to a feudal grant of Ebbworth by Cecilia (*Fitzjohn*) to Walter of Bayeux, her tutor or possibly foster-brother. Of these *No.* 1 (Reg. B. f.171) says it had been held hitherto by Osbert, her late father's *Herbergiator* (Taverner, or *Maggior Domo.*). It is witnessed by Wm. Fitz John (d. 1175) her uncle. *No.* 2 Walter de Bayeux grants the same estate to Abbot Henry of St Peter's Abbey, Glos. upon the Chapter-House altar (c. 1205). Witn : *Elias* III *de Giffard. No.* 3 Warin de Monchensi confirms the same. Witn : *Will. de Francheville : Will. de Bannburi : Hugh de Bannburi : No.* 4 William de Monchensi quit-claims the same to Abbot John (1243-63) Witn : *Dom Henri le Rus, milite, Will. de Lessebur' (tunc Vice-Comite) : Henry le Rous.*

This last '*confirmatio*' is of great value for Wm. de Lessbarew (d. 1261) was the Sheriff, and Willm. Fitz Warin de Monchensi was eldest son of Warine de M. d. 1255 (c). So that the date of this confirmatio must be after 1255, and when William de M. was not yet of age. The Abbots *Scriptum* and that of Walter completely prove that the transaction was not a lease but a full *Sub-infeudation* of the kind then characteristic. Ebbworth thus became a sub-manor to the Lords of Painswick, and *defacto* it remained so-called down to almost modern days. Its holders at Gloucester for centuries undertook the special render of Walter de Bayeux's three feudal Aids to his overlord of Painswick ; and *Crouches,* a large (30 acre) croft toward Shepscombe, was thenceforth held of the Manor of Ebbworth, and rendered to the holders thereof.

In the following century it will be found that a third monastic house acquired lands with a mill (Seagrims) at Painswick, a little beyond the present Sheephouse. This was the Priory of Flanesford, near Goodrich, Co. Hereford. The Prior of Llantony's lands and Combe House chiefly lay between Painswick and the Edge with exception of Priors Quarr and the Nodes, that both lay in the vicinity of the modern Almshouses.

The appearance of the populace in street and lane was therefore diversified by the presence of Austin Canons and Chantry-Priests (one of the former

of whom was always the Vicar of Painswick), and sometimes by a Benedictine from St Peter's Abbey, at Gloucester.

Chaucer gives us a sketch of an Austin Canon encountered on the highway :

Ere we had riden fully five myle,
At Baghton under Blee[1] us gan atake
A man that clothed was in clothes blake,
And underneath he hadd a whyt surplice.

. . . .

And in myn herte wondren I bigan
What that he was, til that I understood
How that his cloke was sowed to his hood ;
For which, when I had longe avysed me,
I deemed him some Chanon for to be.

. . . .

A clote-leaf[2] he hadde under his hood
For swoot, and for to kepe his heed from hete,
But it was joye for to seen him swete.
His forehead dropped as a stillatorie. . . .

(The Canon's Yeoman's Prologue, Canterbury Tales).

The Canons, in addition, wore a long black cassock and a leather girdle with gypciere, or purse. As the Parish Priest of Painswick enjoyed a well-endowed living, and belonging to a rich priory, we may take it that he was given to hospitality, we trust to the poor as well as rich ; and that his Church and residence were well looked after. As, even in the 12th century, there was at least a Founder's Chapel annexed to it, there will have been a Priest of the same Order of Canons, who probably gave his share to the parochial work, and may be, was required to help in the Cure of souls. Besides these, there was the Capellanus, or domestic chaplain of the lord, who celebrated daily mass in the manorial chapel.

The Church celebrations with processions from the church-house on festival days,[3] brought many people in their best array to the centre of the little town ; but the favourable moment, above all, wherein to see it must have been the Fair Day, held twice in the year. The right to hold a

[1] Blean forest.

[2] Burdock.

[3] During such processions the children clustered around the crosses and fountains (conduits) in the villages.

Fair was a much coveted one, and, to the Lord of the Manor—as well as to the place itself—very profitable. He levied toll upon all merchandise brought thither for sale. It was held at the space around the High cross,[1] and to it flocked sellers and buyers, the local squires or their factors, and the business-folk from the farms, with their live-produce, their cereals, and fruits, and also the less-serious pleasure-seekers. There were erected stalls and booths (likewise paying toll), where small wares of every description, as well as food and drink, were retailed to a motley crowd. Bows and arrows from across the Severn, badger skins, shad and lampreys from Gloucester, and even salmon, salt brought on horse-back from Droitwich, cups, dishes, bottles, cloth, trinkets, tools, and live-stock—might all be seen jostling one another, while men women, and children, of all degrees, made the place resound with their chatter, over which some lusty pedlar could be heard advertising unimpeachable wares from Bristol ; or, some Bisley farmer having serious altercation with a Painswick rival, the villagers expecting a ' row.' In those days, when every man wore a knife, blood-drawing was as common, or commoner, than it now is in parts of Italy. Hence ' effusio sanguinis ' is a familar phrase in old deeds.

[1] It is probable that the High street until 1820 descended pretty directly through the two small modern houses and gardens next the Nursing Home (1800), and struck into Tibbywell Lane precisely where its E. wall shews change of masonry. Thus a rider, or woolman, bound for Bisley or Cirencester of old went straight down to the mill by the Wick stream, and thence up into Bull's Cross, *via* Green House Lane : and continued across the Slad Valley and up again *via* Elcombe.

CHAPTER V.

THE LATER DE MONCHENSI—THE FAIR—THE PARK—A CRIME AT PAINSWICK—WM. DE VALENCE, EARL OF PEMBROKE, AND ALYMER, HIS SON—EDGWORTH AND EBBWORTH—THE DE HELION—PAINSWICK PARK BROKEN INTO—GOODRICH CASTLE.

WARINE DE MONCHENSI remained Lord of Painswick from 1213 until his death in 1255 having given a fine for livery of the whole inheritance (Dec. 23, 1213), and paying a compotus of 1,000 marks in order to be free from debts to the Jews, (Cf. Pipe Roll, a. 16 John : Kent) ; and his maternal uncle William, Earl of Arundel, and John Le Savage, drew it up for the king's signature, which it then received at the Tower of London. (Cf. Rot de Finibus, p. 227). He, of course, held many lands out of Gloucestershire, in Suffolk (Cf. Testa de Nevill, v. 2, 319 and Liber Rubeus, 741), Norfolk (Hocham and Kerbroc), Bucks (Dunington), Essex (Fordham and Thurinton) and Kent (Ludesdon and Hertley). He was seized of all these as parts of his BARONY at his decease, and of a weekly Market and the Market-Fair of the Manor of Wyke (Painswick) Glos.: (Cf. Charter Rolls 1.428a.37, Hen. III.= 1255.) He married twice, and his first wife (c. 1220) was Joan, youngest and fifth daughter of William Marshall Earl of Pembroke, by whom he had (1232/4) Joan, who married (1247, 13 Aug.) William de Valence (half-brother of King Henry III.), and (by Dionysia, his second wife) he had William de Monchensi, his heir and successor.

A suit brought by him in 1232,[1] in which he traced to Cecilia [Fitzjohn] Countess of Hereford, has been already referred to. Warine exercised Frank pledge, Assize of bread and beer, gallows, pillory and tumbrel, and had a suit of 4 tithing-men in his manor of Payneswick (Cf. Rot. Hund. a. 4, Edw. I., 1275), in right of his ancestors there. The Register of Llantony at Thirlestane House Cheltenham shews us that he granted and confirmed to the Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, and to the Prior and convent of St Guthlac at Hereford, two sheaves of corn from Painswick, with one virgate of land and two

[1] WARINE De Monchensi brought a suit in Easter term, 1232, in which he traced to Cecilia, [Comitissa Herefordiæ] as his ancestress, " et quia obiit sine herede de se descendit jus terræ illius cuidam Agneti ut sorori et Heredi [a gap] et quia ipse Wilelmus obiit sine herede de se, descendit jus terræ illius isto Warino ut fratri et Herede suo."

messuages, together with two portions of small tithes. He also arrived at an especial agreement with the Prior and convent of Llantony, at Gloucester, regarding the advowson of the Church of Painswick and the celebration of the anniversary of his father's death.

The market-day was, for long, Friday, (not, as at a far later day, Tuesday), and the Fair at Painswick was one of three days' duration, on the Vigil and morrow of the Feast of the Assumption.

Warine distinguished himself by personal valour at the battle of Saintes, 1243, when the English however, were worsted. In later life, 1246/7 he married secondly Dionysia, dau. of Nicholas Anesty. (Cf. Rot. Chart. A. 29, Hen. III., p. 59). Soon after this he became warden of Rochester Castle (A. 34, Hen. III.) and was pursuing a policy of conciliation between the opposed forces of the Court and the Barons. Matthew of Westminster describes him as a noble Baron. " The noblest and wisest of all the nobles of England, by name, Warine de Monchensi, died (1255), and the King conferred the guardianship of his heir (William) on his own (uterine) brother, William de Valence,who had married (Aug. 1247), the daughter of the said Warine." Nothing so felicitously enriched the Crown in those greedy days as the long minorities of heirs to great estates, and we may safely conclude that the King and his half-brother made goodly profits, both by the marriage of Joan and the wardship of this youthful (born c. 1249) William de Monchensi. It led, however, as we shall see, to complications. At his death Warine left a fortune of 200,000 marks—the equivalent of £133,333 6s 8d then, and of over a million sterling to-day.

In 1250, the settled estates of Joan de Monchensi became granted to her husband, William de Valence. Eight years later (1258) when hatred of such alien magnates had culminated to another national crisis, the King had been coerced into decreeing that a fixed sum only should be granted to his French half-brothers, Guy and William de Valence. The latter then fled the wrath of the people, leaving his wife behind. The lady Joan, however, managed to secrete a sum of 500 marks from her estate in wool-packs (? Cotteswold) and travelling in a ' quadriga longa,' or four-wheeled chariot, contrived to join her husband ; an incident which provoked so much indignation that an inquiry had to be holden. (Cf. *Expenses* Roll, A. 23-24, Edw. I.)

Warine was duly succeeded by his son William (sometimes called Fitz-Warine) in his Painswick and Essex and Kentish manors, which the latter held until his death in 1287. His mother, *Dionysia* survived until after 1290, as will appear. The wardship of this William had been at first granted to de Valence who seems to have upset the sheriff and bailiffs of Gloucester very effectually (cf. Inquisitio, Sept. 1252) owing to impediments he caused

them in performing their duties. It was he who acquired Whaddon and Moreton Valence from Robert Pont-de-l'arche and a weir for salmon at Epney, and he added these estates to that of his wife in Payneswick. But these said officials all proclaimed the defiant violence that he had done to their customs as well as to the King's regulations.

The following Deed shews De Monchensi accommodating his neighbour the Breton lord of Pitchcombe. Bond by *Walter le Brut* of Pychencumbe to *Sir Will : de Monchensi* of Painswick for 2s. yearly rent for the easements of the water-course from Wyke to the said Walter's Mill, at Pychencumbe.

Witnesses :

Sir Wm. de la More (*i.e.* Mare)
Stephen de Eggeswurth
Roger de Aldewyk
Richard de la *Strode* and others,
(Calend: of Anc: Deeds
Vol. 3, p. 226. A.5805.)

When the Barons' War began William de Monchensi had been found on the Baronial side, though later he prudently signed the Act of Pacification. He fought at Lewes, but later he was captured with Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, at Kenilworth, the De Montfort stronghold, and sent down to Gloucester Castle by Edward. On June 21, 1266 the King handed the hot-headed youth over to his mother to be bail for his good behaviour, telling her that both her estates and his own were at stake. Next year, however, his lands, and his succession to his father, Warine, were confirmed to him: although full pardon was only confirmed in 1275. He had seen his guardian and brother-in-law, William de Valence, hounded out of the realm in company of his sister and many more. He married Amicia, relict of John de Hulle.

A scandal, however, arose in 1283. They were cited as living in concubinage by the Bishop of Worcester, and William was accused of holding her in concubinage. He denied this, and said he had lived with her as his wife, and had had a daughter by her called Dionysia, whom he now declared to be legitimate by authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury. (Cf. Register Bp. Gifford, p. 308½-9, at Worcester).

The sudden death of Sir William, in 1287, owing to the sudden collapse of a wall at Drosilan (Dryslwyn, Co: Carmarthen)[1] gave the De Valence their

[1] 16, Edw. I., 1287.
Will de M. defunctus. '*Suffodiendi muris oppressit*'—(*Annal : Wigorn, 493,*)
De secta ad quondam furnum (*bakehouse*) in manu Regis existentem occasione mortis dicti W. Monte Canisio.

much-desired opportunity to try and capture the possessions of the senior branch of De Monchensi from Dionysia, his daughter, although she had become King Edward's ward. Accordingly, they (being now Earl and Countess of Pembroke) brought a Petition[1] to Parliament, as to who should lawfully inherit the estates of William de Monchensi, lately deceased, and they desired to have the Archbishop's pronouncement upon the question, their intention being to prove Dionysia the younger a bastard. The elder Dionysia came into Court to plead for her grand-daughter. The latter was declared to have been born in the Diocese of Worcester (probably at Payneswick), and it was shown that the late Sir William de Monchensi regarded her clearly as his daughter and heiress. The Bishop of Worcester and the Archbishop both pronounced in her favour. (Cf. Placita in Parl. A. 18, Edw. I. 1290). There would seem to have been considerable wire-pulling in the affair. Probably the Prelates had pressure put upon them by the King himself, and certainly the Earl was not popular. (Cf. IPM. *in Cal. Genealog* : p 168-70).

There are one or two interesting references to Painswick manor during Sir William's lifetime (1). Oct. 1, 1283. Commission of Oyer and Terminer to William de Hamelton and William de Agmondesham touching the persons who broke into the parks of William, son of Warine de Monchensi at Wynmerfarthing, Co. Norfolk, and Payneswick, Co. Gloucester, and there, and in the said William's free warren at Swanescamp, Co. Kent,—hunted and carried away deer, hares and rabbits. (2) At Painswick, William le Warrener and Thomas le Cleye and others, his officials, have laid hands on a certain tenant of the lord of the manor, by name John Dodd, and him they not only have beaten with blows, but they have applied fire to his feet, and afterwards carried him to the Castle of Gloucester, where they bribed the constable with half-a-mark to take him in, although lacking the license of the bailiff of the local hundred. The man Dodd's offence is not stated, but only this most unlawful proceeding, which, of course, does discredit to the Lord of the Manor. Such crimes must be ascribed to the former years of unrest and the enforced absence of the Lord from his manor during the Welsh War. As this manor enjoyed the almost absolute jurisdiction of its Lord, had he been there, it is safe to conclude these rapacious officials would not have dared to

[1] Petitiones in Parliamento, 1290.
Supplicatio of William de Valence and Joan, his wife (Earl and Countess of Pembroke), as to who should rightly succeed to the possessions of William de Monchensi. The King, whose ward Dionysia is, disallows their plea.
" Inhibitum est eidem Willielmo [de Valencie] quod predictam appellationem ante etatem predictæ Dyonisiæ nullo modo prosequatur."
Placita in Parliamento
a. 18, Edw. I. (1290).

molest a tenant in such a scandalous way.[1] It is probable that Dutchcombe, formerly Dodscomb (and Duddescomb) retains the name of this same tenant. We have also Dodsmead. The manor, at this period, was worth £60[2] per annum. In 1287, we find William de Monchensi among those gone to war into Wales (July 24) on the King's service with an Order of protection. A month later he died of the accident as stated, at Drosilan. His widowed mother Dionysia was now granted custody of certain of his lands during the minority of his daughter, the younger Dionysia. We hear nothing further of his wife, Amicia. There is apt to arise some confusion here on account of the sequence of two Dionysias. It will be best, therefore, to put it thus :—

Dionysia de Anesty (1) 2nd wife of Warine de Monchensi. Dionysia de Monchensi (2) only child of William de Monchensi and Amicia (De Hull).

No sooner was the awkward petition of the Earl and Countess of Pembroke dismissed than the King decided to give the little Dionysia in marriage to his yeoman, Hugh de Vere, brother to the earl of Oxford (June 19, 1290, Westminster), and on July 16th a mandate to the grandmother as her guardian was issued that she should permit the espousal to take place (fidem sponsalium dari et assecurari permittatis) since King Edward has granted the marriage.

In 1291 (Jan. 16, Westminster) we have a Confirmation to the Executors of the Will of Eleanor, the King's mother, of the yearly farm which Dionysia de Monchensi (the elder), R. de Coggeshale and Wm. Haste were wont to pay for the custody of the lands of William de Monchensi, being tenants in chief, during the minority of Dionysia, his daughter and heiress.

[1] Calendarium Genealogicum.
(Incerti temporis Henry III.) (70)

" Inquisitio facta per preceptum domini Regis de terris et tenementis compertis in Hundredo de Bysele pro —— de —— Stephani de Eggesworth, (Edgeworth,) Ric : de Abenasse, Jacob : de Pagenhulle (Paganhill,) Will : Hinder, Gilb : Melewine, Joh : Attestenengate, Ric : de Elmeshale, Will ; de la Strode, (*i.e.* of Stroud,) Rob : le Gore, and Rob : le Frankeleyn, —— qui dicunt super sacramentum quod terra Willi : de Monte Canisio de Payneswike occupata per Johannem Giffard, valet p.a. LX,li. Et habebat ibidem de redditu instantis termini Sancti Michaelis XI li. XIIIJs, VIIId. Et de Wychenfield (?) in eodem termino VIII li. Dicunt etiam quod Johannis Gifford (of Brimsfield) occupavit terram Henrici de Penebrugge in Wineston, et valet p.a. *VJs. IIIId.* Et habebat ibidem de Redditu Assisæ instantis termini Sancti Michaelis XVIIIs. Et terræ predictæ assignatæ sunt custodiendæ — Rich : de Budefeud [feud = field = Bidfield[1]] et Will : Hinder."

It shows that John Gifford (1) of Brimsfield occupied Painswick for a certain period, the which he probably farmed for De Monchensi.

This Document must date after 1255, as it refers to William, who then succeeded Warine de Monchensi. Probably it belongs to the period of his imprisonment at Gloucester after the taking of Kenilworth by Prince Edward.

[2] Over £700 to-day.

1 This is Bydfield above Shepscombe, a very patriarchal farm

As we have seen, a Park already existed at Painswick in 1260, and a Park in old days usually points to personal residence of the Lord. In the 13th century English civilization felt itself to be many steps in advance of the days of Stephen. Windows were wider, and walls were built less thick and fortress-like. It was the lawless age of Law-making and that of the birth of honest Parliament. Security for life and property had considerably increased, On many Estates new houses arose that were better in style than even the best castles of Stephen's age.

We do not hear of any fresh molestation on the parts of William de Valence and Joan his Countess. The former died in 1296. Joan, (who was also heiress of the Marshals, Earls of Pembroke), continued to live chiefly at Goodrich Castle, which those of her ancestors had built. In the Roll of Knights' Fees she is represented in 1303 (A. 31, Edw. 1) as making the King a *donum* on the occasion of the marriage of the latter's eldest daughter of sixty shillings " pro uno feodo et dimidio apud Castrum Godrich," (for 1½ Knights' fee at Goodrich Castle). Her son, Aylmer de Valence, was destined to inherit his cousin Dionysia's properties, including Painswick, and to attach his name to the little fishing manor of Moreton, not far distant in the Severn vale. An interesting item relating to this Dionysia, Lady of the Manor of Painswick, occurs in the Arundel MSS N°. 220, being a Grammatical Treatise made by " Mounsire Gautier de Bibelsworthe " for " Madame Dyonisie de Mounchensy, pur aprise de language." It was edited by Thomas Wright in his *Vocabularies* (1857).[1]

Dionysia de Monchensi in 1295, with the approval of Pope Boniface VIII, founded a Convent of Clares at Waterbeche in Essex. In 1298 occurs a grant by Isabella, daughter of the late William Freeman, a widow, to Dionysia de Monchensi, Lady of Braxstede Magna, of the homage and services of her cousin Sir Ralph de Monchensi and the Lady Aldreda, his wife.

It is here necessary to note that the De Laci Edgworth manor close-by was held (from the De Monchensi) as of Painswick. It owned ward and market. The tenants there at this time were Walter de Helion (Elyun) (c. 1284) and Stephen de Edgworth, who held it from William de Monchensi for half a fee.[2]

[1] Dionysia held also two fees at Redeswell and half a fee in Patimer, Herts. (Desc. Catal. Anc. Deeds, A. 449).

[2] Pat. Roll A.1. Edw. I. Appointment of Ralph de Hengham and Walter de Helion to take assize of novel disseizin by Rich. le Bret against William Maunsell and others touching a tenement in Pichencombe Jan. 18. Sir William Maunsell owned Lypiatt Manor, and his daughter Nichola married Walter le Bret, son of this Richard. The Le Brets were Lords of Pitchcombe Manor. Walter le Bret was seized of lands and

Continued at foot of next page

The Walter de Helion above-mentioned was an important personage (*Arms* Or, a buck's head couped, sable) being one of the King's Justiciaries. The (Breton) family of De Helion held an Honour in Essex in 1210-12. In 1270 Walter was appointed to settle a dispute between Gilbert de Clare and the Abbey of St. Peter's, Gloucester. He possessed some property also at Churcham. He m. Alice d. of Walter de Muchgros (d. 1236-7) of Lassington (later also belonging to the Raleghs). In 1279, he and others sat at the guild-hall in London to try money-clippers, of whom three Christians and 293 Jews were condemned to be hanged. The De Helion remained at Edgeworth manor, tenants of the Lords of Painswick until c. 1350. Cf the following :—

A Pat. Roll Edw. I., records that—Walterus de Elyun (Walter II sheriff of Worc. and Heref. had Rohese m. to John de Ralegh of Charles, nr. Barnstaple, who had Peter, *see* p. 152) et Stephanus de Egesworthe tenent de eodem Will : de Monchensi per servicium dim : feodi (c. A.D. 1284). They hold half-a-fee from William de Monchensy.

Escaet (p. 104) A. 17, Edward II. Adomarus de Valentia, comes Pembroke, et Maria, uxor ejus, Eggesworth tertia pars Villæ et omnia feoda tenentur de manerio de Payneswyke.

Escaet, A. 16, Edward III. Walterus de Helyoun. Walter III. He held 2 parts of Lassington manor by Sergeanty, of the Archb. of York as of his Barony of Churchdown. Eggesworth manerium extenta Panyswike manerii. (A.D. 1342).

In 1362 (Escaet p. 248), Robert de Aston and John Cooff (*idiot*) hold a third part of Edgeworth, as usual, from the manor of Painswick, in right of the lady Elizabeth Bromwych. His heir was Thomas Raleghe, his cousin.

Perhaps the earliest name which occurs as a tenant, at any rate of those

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tenements in Ebbworth worth 40s. a year in trust for the Abbot of Gloucester, its sub-lord. 31, Edw. I. (1302). [In 1343 the Abbey of Gloucester was seized of Ebbworth, in Painswick.]

Dionysia de Monchensi also held the Manor of Staunton, Co. Worcester, which was also attached to Painswick, and it was held of her by serjeanty, by Peter de Staunton, 16 Ed. I. = 1287 cf. IPM. Glos. p. 148. *Staunton* Co. Worc. was held thus by serjeanty right down to the *Viscounts Lisle* of Tudor time from Painswick.

As the Arms of De Monchensi and De Staunton are found quarterly in the Church at Staunton it is clear that there existed a matrimonial alliance between the two families. Peter de Staunton died in 1287-8, leaving his son Robert, aged 14 years, his heir. As there were no ladies of this branch of De Monchensi left, but that Dionysia, who presently married Hugh de Vere, bro : of T. de Vere, Earl of Oxford, it is probable that Peter de Staunton himself had married a daughter of Warine de Monchensi, or else had had a mother who was a member of Warine's family.

A. 16, Edw. I. (1287.) IPM. Petrus de Staunton qui tenuit de Dionisia filia et hærede Willelmi de Monte Canisio in custodia Regis existente (Wigorn 19).

names still existing (1904) at Painswick, is that of *Roger Loveday*[1] who had been appointed in 1277 custodian of the lands of Sir William de Monchensi, while the latter Knight was exiled beyond seas, " on condition that the bailiffs be not removed, and that his (Sir William's) corn be collected by the said bailiffs and kept in safety until further orders." (July 21, Chester).

As an earlier patrician tenant, one may cite Petronilla de la Mare,[2] who in 1263 (47, Hen. III.) had held of John de Monchensi 46s. 8d. of rent p. a. in Shepscombe, making two suits to the Court of the said John. She also had in the village of Edgworth 10s. 6d. yearly rent, which was of the fee of the same John. Her son and heir was William de la Mare. John evidently lived at Painswick as deputy lord of the manor, and probably cousin and trustee for William. She also held Rendcomb of the Honour of Gloucester.

[1] Arms of Roger Loveday, Barry of 6 Dancettée, or and sable. Roger probably had a Norman mother.

[2] Perhaps the wife of John de la Mare of Kenrich, or of Peter de la Mare of Cherinton, who died 1292. Cf. IPM. Her heir was her son, William, of full age.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WORTH OF THE MANOR—A CAPITAL MESSUAGE—AYLMER DE VALENCE, EARL OF PEMBROKE—THE DISPENSER'S CRIME—SIR RICHARD TALBOT—THE BLACK DEATH—DAMSELS, SUDGROVE.

IN August, 1313, both Hugo de Vere and *Dionysia de Monchensi* died without issue, probably of an epidemic.

" Payneswyk Manerii extenta de Monte Canisii Baronia " (A. 7, Edw. II., No. 51). " There is in the said Manor *a capital messuage* (*i.e.* The Castle) *with a garden, curtilage and dovecote* which is worth p.a. 3s and 4d. There are 60 acres of arable land which are worth p.a. 6s ; price of the acre 18d ; also 4 acres of pasture, which are worth p.a. 4s ; price of the acre 12d. There is there a certain park with wild beasts, the herbage whereof is worth p.a. 6s and 8d. There are 100 acres of wood (*i.e.* Longridge), the profit whereof is nothing. There are there *four free tenants*, and they pay p.a. rent of assize 9s and 50 *villeins* who pay £40. The pleas and perquisites of the Court are worth p.a. 20s." (Cf. IPM. vol. 1. p. 256).

Thereupon *Aylmer de Valence* established his succession and became " Dominus de Paneswyke "[1] (cf. Feudal Aids, vol. 2, p. 276). He had succeeded his father, William de Valence, as Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Goodrich, Co. Monmouth, in 1296, and his sister Joan had married John Comyn, ' the Red,' of Badenoch. In addition he owned Moreton and Whaddon, with an extraordinary accumulation of rich manors elsewhere. His career was entirely a public one, and, except his reputed establishment of Painswick market-fair, (which had been, we saw obtained really by an earlier lord) we have little but his name to connect with his brief lordships of this manor and Morton Valence. His patriotic part in the league against Gaveston, however, and later against the Dispensers, his escaping

[1] The Berkeleys, among many others, entertained a grudge against him, for I find the following in the year of his inheriting :—Anno 7, Edward II., Sir Maurice Berkeley and his elder brother, Thomas Berkeley of Bisley ; their uncle, John Berkeley of Erlingham ; their cousin, Richard le Veel, and more than 43 others, riotously entered Painswick Park, making havoc of the deer there, and how unmannerly they afterwards handled the Coroners of that County, when they were to have been outlawed for the said fact, with the issue thereof. (Cf. The Berkeley Manuscripts, vol. i., pp. 246, 297). The Park had no beasts in it left at Aylmer's decease.

capture at Bannockburn, his treating for peace with Scotland in 1323, and finally his death in a tournament at *Compiègne*, June 23, 1324[1], are striking incidents in the perturbed history of the reign of Edward II. His marriages brought no children by either of his wives. The last (July, 1322), was Mary de Châtillon, daughter of Guy IV., Count of St. Pol, well-remembered as foundress of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. The Earl's body was brought from France to London and buried magnificently in Westminster Abbey, as had been his father's.

The Dispensers had hated, feared, and opposed Aylmer de Valence so much as to become credited with being the cause of his death by treachery. Their avarice, at any rate, not contented with vengeance of this sort, now laid hands on his niece and heiress, Elizabeth Comyn, and endeavoured to levy a forced fine upon her great manors of Painswick[2] and Goodrich. As she refused to pay this, they took her at Kenynton in Surrey and imprisoned her and

[1] MANDEVILLE, 17, Ed. II. (1324). Robert de Mandeville (d. 1348) paid for license to the King 5 marks to receive certain lands and tenements in Pitchcombe from Walter de Wylton and Isabella, his wife.

An Inquisition taken before Simon Bassett, escheator of the Lord the King at Pinchincoumbe on Friday next after the feast of the Ascension in the 22nd year of the reign of King Edward the Third after the conquest by virtue of a writ of the Lord the King, &c., &c., that on the day of his death, Robert de Mandeville held besides one manor of Pitchcombe (there were two manors), two virgates of land, with appurtenances of the lord *Richard Talbot* within *Painswick* by the service XIVd. p.a. but worth Xs. per annum, and they say that the said Robert died on Wednesday, May 7, and that John, his son, is the next heir and is of the age of 28 years and more.

Thomas de Berkeley as the King's escheator, took the oath of fealty of John de M., son of Robert and Isabella, 30 Edw. III (1357). (This is the Th. de B. who built the Chantry at Coberley).

John de Mandeville d. 1360 (34, Ed. III.) aged 40. (Cal. Inquis : P.M. p. 219). He was seised of 5 mess., 22 acres, 2 virg. and ½, and 2 acres of wood in Painswick and Edge, which he held of Sir John de Bromwich (husb : of Elizabeth Lady Talbot) by the service of XIIIId. p.a.—Joan, wife of Wm. de Bockland being sister and heir. She died 1362.

In Henry VI., A.S. (1429). William Cowley holds a parcel of land called " Mandeville's land." There is Mandeville's Orchard, to-day, at junction of Pitchcombe and Painswick. The farm-house called Rag-Castle with XV. c. remains in it probably occupies the site of the manor-house. The lane next it, as well as the Stroud Road (1840) is modern.

[2] Petitiones in Parliamento. No. 27. Forced Fine. Vol. 2, 22a.
Richard and Elizabeth Talbot. (2, Edw. III., 1328).

An're Seignr le Roi et a son Conseil monstrent Richard, fili Gilbert Talbot and Elizabeth sa femme, qe coure ils eussent suy de faire venir devant le Conseil n're Seigneur le Roi a son darrein Parlement a Westm : les transcritz des pietz des deus Fyns pour lequeux Fyns Hugh le Despenser, le piere et le fitz, avoient purchaser les manoir de Payneswyk et Chastell Godrich, de la dite Elizabet, tant come ele fust sole ; Et pour enprisonement, et pour duresses, et pour cohercions, tant coure ele demurra en dure prisone a Purfrith, fust la dite Eliz : costreint a faire le reconissances des Fyns avant nomeez, devant Monsire Johan de Bousser,

Continued at foot of next page

carried her off to their Castle at Purfrith, where, keeping her for over a year, by torture and durance they compelled her to yield, and thither they brought John de Bousser, a Justice of the King's Bench, to witness her acquiescence in her own spoliation, on April 20, 1325. They continued to detain her for half a year further.

Fortunately, the scandal of this episode reached Sir Richard Talbot, son of Gilbert, Lord Talbot, who, being sworn foe to the Dispensers, undertook to release the Lady Elizabeth, whom, in the absence of her busy tyrants, he and his men brought securely away from Purfrith. He then married her. In 1328 these two, therefore, bring a Petition to Parliament, before Edward III, praying for the annulment of those enforced fines. The King granted the request, and the manor of Painswick by this romantic incident passed into the Talbot family, with whom it was to remain a favourite hunting-estate for the next two and a half centuries.

The following, from the Patent Rolls, shews the enfeoffment here at Painswick manor of a near relative :

1331. *Jan.* 13. *Westminster.*

License for Richard, Lord Talebot and Elizabeth, his wife, to enfeoff *Thomas Talebot*, clerk, of the Manors of Castle Gooderich, Co. Hereford *and* of *Payneswick*, Co. Glos., held in chief, and for him to regrant the same to them in fee-tail with remainder to the right heirs of Richard Lord Talebot.

The next we learn of the Manor under this Sir Richard Talbot (summoned to Parliament as Lord Talbot) is in 1346 (Pa: R. 20, Edw. III.) when he obtains Papal permission from Clement VI. at Avignon, upon his return from Crecy, to found a Priory of Augustinian Canons at *Flanesford*, near Goodrich, in the Vale of Wye just below it. Part of its endowment was to be derived from Painswick and from Westbury, where henceforward, until the Dissolution of the Monasteries (1539), the priors of Flanesford held two mills with messuages of the annual value of £6 18s. 8d. King Edward III., while at Eltham, Dec. 8, 1348,[1] granted special license to the Founder for its endowment from his estates, mentioning Payneswyke.

[1] Cf. Patent Rolls, a. 20 Edw. III.

Justice de Bank, q'fust illek mande pur cele reconissance resceure, auxi come plus pleynement est trouve est trove par une solempne enqueste prise devant Monsire Johan de Stonore, et autres Justices, selom la forme d'une Comission de ceo fait, quele Comission, ensemblement ove l'enqueste, est returne en la Chauncellerie n're Seigneur le Roi. Par quoi les avantditz Rd. et El. prient, q' la dite enqueste soit vewe, et q' les Fyns avantditz soient anientitz, issint q' les ditz R. and E. aient droit et remedie, solom la forme de la dite ordinance de ceo fait.

Acorde est en la geñal responns, q' le Roi face nom : et assign : Evesques Contes et Barons, de fair execucion de l'estatur, et pur ceo suier.

The following item (a. 18, Henry VI, 1439), locates for us the situation of their property. "The homage present that Thomas Coleyns has encroached from the land of the manor-lord upon the ground belonging to the Prior of *Flanesford* above *Seagrimsbridge*.[1] The penalty is to be certified at the next Court." That is where Ayers' timber mill now is (1907) below the Eagle Inn,—otherwise Small's mill.

The *Valor* of Henry VIII (vol. iii.) gives us the subjoined references :—

Flanesford in Dioces' Herefordiæ.

Habet in Payneswyke.

Firma quinque messuagia cum duobus molendinis supra quo dict' messuag' edificantur ibidem sic dicitur per quondam Priorem ibidem. [Five messuages with two mills under them, it is said, built by a former Prior there].

p. £VI. XVIIIs. VIIId. [£6 18s. 8d.]

£XV. VIIIs. IXd. [£15 8s. 9d.]

Spiritualibus nichil quia null' promot' spiritual' dict' Prioratus partem. Inde reprisæ' (deductions) videlicet de temporalibus.

Feod : *Thome Ball* Balliv : et Collector : dict : reddit : per annum. XXs. [Fee of Thomas Ball, Bailiff and Collector of Rent, 20s.]

Spiritualibus nichil, causa superius annotatur. Et valet clare per annum. (Clear annual value.)

£XIIII VIIIs. IXd. [£14 8s. 9d.]

Decima pars [tenth part] XXVIIIs. X ob : [28s. 10½d.]

The Rolls of the poll-tax in Painswick (Cf. p. 95) shew us the name of Seagrim still as that of a tenant in 1381 [temp : Rich. II.] It occurs likelikewise at Cirencester, where are also recorded Steingrim and Heregrim.

Thus, the Augustinian Order came to possess two goodly portions in this manor ; for, as we have seen, the canons of Llantony at Gloucester owned the Advowson of the Church, and farmed lands in the Hamm Combe. (Cf. *Papal Petitions*, Clement VI. *Regesta*, vol. 151 ; also Pat. Roll, Edw. III. A. 20).

There is, however, one later reference to Flanesford of some interest in the Patent Rolls, A. 30, Henry VIII. Part 1, vol. 2 (28). This King re-grants to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, in consideration for good and acceptable service by him rendered, all the site, ground, ambit and precinct of the late Priory of Flanesford, also the manor or Lordship of Flanesford with appurtenances, in the County of Hereford. Also the Manor or Lordship of [held by Flanesford] in Payneswyke, with appurtenances, in

[1] 1327, Alice and John Segrym paid subsidy in Painswick. They were probably already millers there.

the county of Gloucester ; and all rights of patronage of Churches and hereditaments whatsoever, as well spiritual as temporal, of whatsoever kind and nature they may be, situate, lying, or being in Flanesford and Gooderiche, in the County of Hereford, and in *Panneswyke*, Ludbrooke and Manselhope, in the County of Gloucester, which possessions are of the clear annual value of fourteen pounds, eleven shillings and fourpence, as certified in the Exchequer at Westminster. The said Earl is to hold these possessions by a 20th part of a knight's fee and by the yearly rent of twenty-nine shillings, three half-pence, and a farthing, as a tenth to be paid at the Court of Augmentation of the Revenues at the feasts of St. Michael, the Archangel, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by equal portions yearly ; also he has a grant to found a chantry in the Church or Chapel of FLANESFORD with a perpetual chaplain. The CHANTRY to be called the Chantry of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, at Flanesford, &c. June 4, 1538.[1]

Whether the Black Death scourged Painswick as it scourged Horsley and Avening does not appear. Sir Richard Talbot died in 1356[2] and his widow on Nov. 20 1372, when, in all probability, there was placed in Painswick Church an eastern window bearing their *arms* (Gules, a lion rampant within an engrailed, Or ; and Azure within a bordure flory, three garbs, Or,) which bordure survived the destruction of the old church and was seen early in the 18th century and described. (Cf. Rawlinson, MS., B. 313, fol. 203, b. Bodl : Library.)

Richard, Lord Talbot, was succeeded by Sir Gilbert, his son (*ætat :* 24), his widow (as we saw) having married Sir John de Bromwich[3], Sir Gilbert, married Petronella, daughter of James Butler, Earl of Ormonde, who brought him the castle and manor of Kilpeck in Archenfield.

It would be interesting could we know even the names and bare numbers of all the men of this manor who followed these Talbots to the various French Wars ; who drew the bow, and who did, or did not, return to their native village. But the *Poll-Tax returns* for Painswick, mutilated as they are, are almost our only resource left for the names of 14th century tenants and vassals. I therefore give the Lay-Subsidy Roll as it stands. In the ' Little Red Book of Bristol ' (by Francis R. Bickley, vol. 1, p. 21) under the year 1350 is mentioned *John of Payneswyk*, an elector of Bristol.

[1] The writer is indebted for this deed to the courtesy of the Rev. the Vicar of Goodrich.

[2] IPM. a. 30, EDW. III. (1356) Richard Talbot then owned Painswick, Morton and Whaddon Manors, and also Huntley, in Co. Glos.

[3] This Sir John de Bromwich in 1346 held half a fee at Bromwich in Hants, which had been held by Sir Luke de Bromwich. Elizabeth, Lady Talbot died Nov. 20, 1372, thus ending her romantic life far more happily than her youth had seemed to promise. She had seen her Dispenser enemies annihilated.

LAY SUBSIDY ROLL $\frac{113}{35A}$

"a. 4 Ric: 2. Glouc. 14 loose membs: portions of a Roll of the collection of a Poll-tax granted. a. 4 Ric: 2." (Calendar). A D. 1381.[1]

HUNDREDUM DE BISELEYE.

Villata de Payneswike

De Ricardo Ferthyngale et Felicia vxore eius brasiatore (brewer) .. .. ijs.
De Rogero de Combe et Elena vxore eius cultore terre .. .. ijs.
De Simone Taillour scissore (tailor) .. .. xijd.
De Johanne serviente eiusdem .. .. xijd.
De Willelmo Bras laborario .. .. xijd.
De Ricardo Bernard et Bona vxore eius cultore terre .. .. ijs.
De Waltero Skenerel laborario .. .. xijd.
De Jacobo Knyt laborario .. .. xijd.
De Johanne Toule et Editha vxore eius brasiatore .. .. ijs.
De Thoma Skenerel et Margareta vxore eius .. .. ijs.
De Seagrym laborario .. .. xijd.
De Margareta Colyns vidua et mag(is) suffic(it) .. .. iijs.
De Ricardo filio et serviente eiusdem .. .. xijd.
De Henrico Taillour scissore et inpotente .. .. vjd.
De Johanne Rogers seniore bercario .. .. xviijd.
De Johanne atte Wode laborario .. .. xijd.
De [1] Sponbed schippester .. .. xvjd.
De Johanne serviente eiusdem .. .. viijd.
De Johanne Rogers juniore laborario .. .. vjd.
De Waltero Merymon laborario .. .. xijd.
De Johanne Pofforde et Agnete vxore eius cultore terre .. .. .. ijs.
De Ricardo Webare carpentario .. .. xvjd.
De Johanne serviente dicti Ricardi .. .. viijd.
De Johanne Colyns et Johanna vxore eius cultore terre .. .. .. ijs.
De Ricardo Belamy laborario .. .. xijd.

1. Torn away—De Johanne.

[1] P.R.Office.

De Simone la Havre laborario .. .. xijd.
De Johanne atte Wiston et Isabella vxore eius brasiatore .. .. .. ijs.
De Waltero Heryngs et Agnete vxore eius cultore terre .. .. .. ijs.
De Nicholas Damsel laborario .. .. xijd.
De Simone atte Wode laborario .. .. xijd.
De Johanne Lok et Alicia vxore eius brasiatore .. .. ijs.
De Henrico Salcombe et Felicia vxore eius cultore terre .. .. .. ijs.
De Johanne Hopkins serviente .. .. xijd.
De Johanne Martyn serviente .. .. xijd.
De Johanne Crouch laborario .. .. viijd.
De Roberto Chese serviente .. .. xijd.
De Willelmo Rogers et Juliana vxore eius cultore terre .. .. ijsd.
De Johanne Paccare (Mercer) .. .. xiiijd.
De Isabella serviente eiusdem .. .. iiijd.
De Johanne le Rene laborario .. .. viijd.
De Sibilla atte Grove serviente per dictam .. .. iiij
De Johanne Cagge et Juliana vxore eius cultore terre .. .. ijs.
De Johanne Gy et Emiagne uxore eius brasiatore .. .. ijs. vjd.
De Thoma Burgens laborario .. .. viijd.
De Rogero Facherel et Juliana vxore eius .. .. ijs.
De Johanne Bernard laborario .. .. xijd.

De Willelmo quondam serviente euisdem laborario	xijd.
De Thoma Coppe (s) cissore	xijd.
De Johanne atte Grove laborario	xijd.
De Johanne Withur et Elena vxore eius brasiatore	ijs. vjd.
De Willelmo Bernard serviente	vjd.
De Johanne atte Halle laborario	xijd.
De Johanne Gerard serviente	xijd.
De Agneta Gyde brasiatrice	xvjd.
De Agneta Pygace serviente per dictam	xijd.
De Willelmo serviente et filio eiusdem	xijd.
De Johanne Robart et Agnete vxore eius cultore terre	ijs.
De Agnete atte Strode brasiatrice	xviijd.
De Johanne serviente eiusdem	[2]
De Rogero [1] et Agnete	[2]
De [1] B [1] Agnete vxore [1]	[2]
[1]	[2]

1. Illegible. 2. Amounts torn away.

LAY SUBSIDY ROLL $\frac{113}{31^{A}}$

" a. 2 Ric : 2. Glouc. 6 loose membs : portions of a Roll of the collection of a Poll tax granted. a. 2 Ric : 2." (Calendar.)

VILLATA DE PAYNESWYK.

Presentatores ibidem dicunt per Sacramentum eorum quod ad primam sessionem plene presentaverunt.

Unfortunately, the events of this tragical 14th cent. its wars and pestilences, had not worked well for any. The Monasteries were dilapidated, often looted. The Black Death succeeding to five and twenty good years had made labour scarce ; robbers and vagabonds again roamed the land. Moreover, it returned more than once before 1390. The price of labour had to be fixed by law. " Not only was the price of labour fixed by the Parliament of 1350, but the labour class was once more tied to the soil. The labourer was forbidden to quit the parish where he lived in search of better-paid employment. If he disobeyed he became a fugitive and subject to imprisonment at the hands of Justices of the Peace. To enforce such a law literally must have been impossible, for corn rose to so high a price that a day's labour at the old wages would not have purchased wheat enough for a man's support." (J. R. Green, *Hist. of England*, book. iii. p. 431). The highest rate of wages, however, prevailed between the years 1371 and 1390. The rise exceeded by 100% the proportion paid in the preceding century. Wool was seriously depreciated, and upon this the agriculturist depended for foreign trade. The annual export of English wool at this period was 32,000 sacks. Misery of the most abject kind was afflicting the country, and a terrific chasm was re-opened between employer and employed, and the oppression of the peasant contributed greatly

to such religious and social outbreaks as those of Wat Tyler, John Ball and Wickliff. " Even in the years of peace fifteenths and tenths, subsidies on wool and subsidies on leather were demanded and obtained from Parliament (for the King and his wars) ; and at the outbreak of war the Royal demands became heavier and more frequent ; " and as this pressure clove the ruling classes themselves in twain, they cast their eager eyes towards the accumulations of the Church. " Out of a population of some three millions, the ecclesiastics (in England) numbered between twenty and thirty thousand." (Chap. iii. 458, op. cit.) But the clergy itself had become also deeply divided ; the secular from the regular, or Monastic v. Clergy ; and both these as much as possible eluded the common burdens and anxieties of the people. Their moral authority was naturally not of a high grade.

Painswick doubtless fared no better, perhaps no worse, than her neighbours. We may be sure the manor-lord did not escape. In 1398 (May 6), King Richard, in return for a loan of a hundred marks from the Prior and convent of Llantony of Gloucester grants them license to incorporate the three vicarages of St. Owen (at Gloucester,) Prestbury (near Cheltenham), and Painswick, and to own them to their use in perpetuity. Of these Painswick yielded the largest sum, namely, ten marks, six shillings and eight pence. (Cf. Pa. Roll, 21 Rich : II. Part 3, Memo : 18) or about one-ninth of the principal of the loan. Alas, this good money was destined to help Richard but a little faster to the tyrannical follies of outlawing seven counties, &c. That, in turn, led to the recall of the banished Henry of Lancaster in order that he should seize the throne, and so hasten the King's wretched end at Pomfret.

Looking back into the list of those Painswick payers of Poll-tax, there are a few names that have left their mark in fields or farms in the Manor. Seagrym has already been adverted to. Heryngs gave name to a farm, of which the site occupied by the 18th cent. *Buenos Aires* (later rebaptised as ' Painswick House,') was a part.[1] Martin was represented by a field in Shepscombe, called Martin's. Paccar by another at Spoonbed, called Packer's. Skenerel gave name to Skenerels, held by a Walter Seagrym in 1495. Nicholas Damsel is commemorated still by Damsels, that (we saw) was specially held apart by the fiftieth part of a Knight's fee.

This land of Damsels in the dell near the old Park, has several points of interest about it. It consisted of a toft (*Crouches*) and half a virgate (c. 15

[1]It was called simply *Buenos Aires* when Basevi built the Lodge to Glouc. New Road : the owners having acquired *the Nodes* to throw in in order to make *a Park*. As long as the *Jerninghams* were lords of the Manor no one could use such a name for *Herings Farm* or other property as *The Park*, altho' the ancient Park was already practically gone and become but a name attached to the hamlet on the site of one of its Gates.

acres) and an orchard ; the former however held from St Peter's Abbey, (*i.e manerio de Ebworthe*) Gloucester, and so, indirectly only, to the Lord of the *over*-Manor of Painswick. Besides it had a mill, abundant water, and withybeds.

In the Cartulary of Llantony in the P.R. Office, London, Oct. 1, A. 1, Henry V.=1415) we find

" *Thomas Sudgrove* [who had given 20s. for a license in 1376 (a. 50, Edw. III.) in order to acquire tenements with appurtenances in Painswick[1] of Gilbert Talbot (Chivaler)] and Agnes,[2] his wife, gave half a virgate and toft lately in the possession of John Damsel, who held it from us and our predecessors (St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester), there, as from the Church of St Guthlac at Hereford, which the Prior and convent demised to farm to the said Thomas and Agnes Sudgrove for six shillings." We have referred to the ancient pension to St Guthlac's laid upon Painswick church by Walter I. de Laci 1085. Here then is part of the land which yielded it. The sole difference being that the Abbey of St Peter had passed over the responsibility for this portion to Llantony which held the Advowson of Painswick,—a not unreasonable proceeding.[3]

On the same day and year (Oct. 1, a. 1, Hen. V.) William and Matilda, and John *Damsel* (their son) and Ralph Damsel (the latter's son) agree to surrender the property to *John Wych*, Prior of Llantony and his convent. The property was called ' *Sudgroves* ' as late as Henry VI. a. 8 after which it became known as Damsels.[4]

[1] Rot : 46.

[2] Agnes Sudgrove also owned a property called ' Wythies ' which she sub-let to John Carpenter, of Upton St. Leonards. (Cf. Cartul : Lantoni f 122, PRO). This ' *Wythies* ' survives in ' *the Wythies* ' opposite Damsels Mill, to-day.

[3] *S. Guthlac at Hereford* was a cell given by *Walter de Laci* to *St. Peter's Gloster*. This is proof of an Agreement between the Abbey of Llantony at Gloucester and St. Peter's, made under Abbot *Horton* 1351-77 that the former monastery shall take over a farm from the latter, its tithes, tenements, rents and services of tenant's of all kinds in *Payneswick*, for 40s. p.a. Hence, we find in the Valor Ecclesiasticus (p. 420) Pensione annua resoluta de *Priore de Lanthone* Secunda pro *Ecclesia de Painswick* in Comitatu Gloucestrie, *Priori S. Guthlaci* xls.

The Abbey of S. Peter's found it convenient more than once to hand over its extensive possessions in this manor, at Ebbworth, both in lands, farms and tithes, to its neighbour Lantony Secunda.

Anno Domini MCCCLXIII ita convenit inter nos (*i.e. Llanthoniæ Conventus*) et Abbatem et conventum monasterii *Sci Petri Gloecestria* quod illi tradent et ad firmam dimittent omnes decimas suas, terras, tenementes, redditus et servitia tenentium et alia jura tam spiritualia quam temporalia que habuerunt in Payneswicke pro xls annuatim solvenda ad festum Apostolorum Petro et Pauli. *Registrum Llantonie* (Cheltenham).

[4] *Thomas Sudgrove* married (a. 3. Rich 2), *Margaret? Damsel*, fol. lxxv, lxxix, Cart : Lanton : in PRO. fol. cxxii, do.

The facts relative further to Damsels seem to be these : It was granted on the feast of St Valentine, a. 7, Richard II. (1384) to Thomas Sudgrove together with three acres, arable and divided, lying in a place called ' Delle ' within the Manor of Painswick, including a toft and a croft together lying between the land of Michael Dinning and that of John Vachell, and extending from ' Delle ' towards the wood called Longridge, in perpetuity, for the service of one red Rose due at the feast of St John the Baptist, ' si petatur pro omni servitio seculari et demanda.' The croft was called ' Cley Crofte.'

In the sixth year of Edward VI. (Dec. 4) one, John West, produced in the Manor Court a Charter made by Ralph *Damsell*, ' dominus de Walton ' (Walton Castle), Co. Somerset, and Thomas Sudgrove, of Painswick, for the latter, his heirs and assigns,—and he claimed as a free-tenant of the Manor by a scrip of Release of Richard Holoway of Castlecomb, near Chippenham, and Margaret, his wife, and his heir John Smith of Cirencester, dated June 26, A. 33, Henry VIII. The property was still held by render of one red Rose, as above related.

This disposes of certain fantastic fictions relative to the locality invented in modern days in order to account for what is, after all, a mere surname. There are other legends growing and nourished in Painswick much resembling it. Future references to Damsells will be found when we come to the days of Henry VII.

Owning several (not to say many), properties, our feudal forebears were used to sub-enfeoff the less favoured or less practicable ones to their kinsfolk, or to rich clients, while they lived in and enjoyed the others : going from one estate to another in pre-thought-out succession from this to that shire : each residence being duly fore-warned and made ready at call or need, with its own appropriated, if limited, furniture, hangings, cushions, cloths and beddings : strict care also being had to mending the pannellings, screens, settles, doors and cupboards, or ambreys, and ensuring good ropes for the stairways, against the day when the lord's advance-train of cooks and official attendants, bringing all the extra provisions (from outside that particular manor), that might be needed, together with all ' *the keys, pots and fibulæ* ' of mediæval domestic life,—became signalled along the nearest highway and were saluted perhaps as they passed to the boundary-gates of the manor : just, in fact, as upon a much larger scale, the cumbrous and mechanical royal households of Spain and Portugal used to do until quite recent days. Painswick was in all probability favoured rather specially by many of its Owners because their other Gloucestershire manors, unlike it, possessed no comparable park, woodlands, or game.

(EXPENSE SCHEDULES)

OF THE STEWARD OF THE MANOR

A.D. 1430.

Paynswyk. Expensis Senescalli receptis et aliorum ibidem existentium pro leta cum curia ibidem tenta in festo octavi Marcis Evangelisti a. Hen. VI. viii.

Item	In pane albo empto		ii s. xi d.
	[1] 1 Cestr'		
,,	In cerevisia (*Beer*) empta de Emota Chapman		xviii d.
	1 Cestr'		
,,	In cerevisia empta de Margeria Wolde	xviii d.	ii s. iiiid.
,,	In v. lagenis (*gallons*) emptis de eadem	x d.	
,,	In cerevisia vi.l. empta de Elizabeth ffox		ix d.
,,	In carne bon' empt' apud Glouc'		v d.
,,	In carne empt' de Ric' Belesone		ii s. ix d.
,,	In dim capri empt'		v d.
,,	In pisc' sals' empt' de Johanne Chapman		iiii d.
,,	Johis ffox pro eodem		vii d.
,,	Thome ffox pro duobus lampr'		viii d.
,,	eidem pro 1 shadde		iii d.
,, p	In salmon' rec ' empt' apud Glouc'		xii d.
,,	In anguill' empt' ibidem		vi d.
,,	In pullon' empt'		ii d.
,,	In ovis		iiii d.
,,	In sale et sinap' (*mustard*) et allio (*garlic*) et gross' farin'		ii d.
,,	In lie alb' 1 lb. ? *linimine :* grease		id½.
,,	In ferris		xii d.
,,	In cariagg' lign' focal' (carriage of fuel)		iiii d.
,,	In prosternatione ejusdem (felling the same)		iiii d.
,,	In shaddes		ii d.
,, ,,	In rem' facto David' Wodburn' laborante in coquina		vi d.
,,	In provend' x bus' precio bus' iiii½		iii s. ix d.
		Summa	xxi s. iii d½.

1. c. 9. Gallons the *Sester.*

Payns'. Expensis Senescalli existent ' ibidem ad Visum Franc' [Plegii] tent' ibidem mens' Octobris Anno Regis Henr' VIti. viii$_0$.

In pane albo empt' de Johanna Baker		v s. x d.
In 1 lag' vini rub' [red wine] empt' de Johanne Orchard		vi d.
In xviii lag' cerevis' empt' de Johanna Wade pro lag' 1½		ii s. iii d.
In xxiiii lag' cerevis' empt ' de Agnet ' Tynkeler p. lag' iid		ii s.
In viii lag' cerevis' empt' de Isabell' Exetre p. lag' iid		xvi d.
In carne bon' rec' empt' de Ric' Beleson (Belson)		xvi d.
In di' porc' empt' de eodem		xv d.
In carnibus scilicet multon do.		ii s. iiii d.
In ii (?) auc' do.		ix d.
In ii capon' do.		vi d.
In vi pultell' do.		vi d.
In pisc' empt ', videlicet allet' et mulwellis empt'		vii d.
In sale et sin (ap) empt'		ii d.
In spec' (*spice*) empt'		i d.
In farin' aven' empt'		i d.
In ov' empt'		i.
In v. lib' liminis alb' empt' per lb. 1½		vii ½.

In prosternatione et cariag' 1 dozen focal' .. .. viii d.
In xvii bus' avenis empt' pr' bus' iiii d½ .. .. vii s. vi d½.
In ferris equorum .. .. ii s. vi d.
In una virg' canves (*canvas* ?) empt' pro coco .. .. iiii d.
In 1 steynd cloth empt' prout superius .. .. ii d.
In locione (?) napariæ .. .. ii d.
In reward' dat ' coco pro labore .. .. ii d.
Summa xxx s. viid½.

Payneswyk . Tempore Senescalli et legett' et Purs' per quatuor dies et noctes mensis Dec' a.H. sexti. viii.
In pane albo empt' de *Simone Baker* .. .. iii s. viii d.
a. In xxiii lagenis cervisie melioris empt' de Johna. ffuystar precio lagen' ii d. iii s. x d.
In 1 quart' vini empt' de *Johanne Orchard* .. .. 1½.
b. Item in vii lag' scde[1] cerevisiæ empt' de predicta *Johanna ffuyster* precio lag' 1d. .. .. vii d.
Item in xviii lagen' melioris cerevsie empt' de *Juliana Whyghte* precio lag' iii s.
Item in viiil' scde[2] cerevisie empt' de eadem ad p'c .. .. viii d.
In carne empt' de *Ris' Beleson* .. .. xviii d. It. vi d.
In iii caponis et iii pulletts empt' .. .. xviii d.
In carne empt' de *Johanne Beleson* .. .. x d.
In pisc' empt' apud Glouc' vino et sinapio .. .. iii s. vi d.
In pisc, empt' de *Johe ffox* .. .. xii d.
In on' cas' et allio empt' .. .. vii d.
In ciphis (*sieves*) pro stauro manerii .. .. iiii d.
In xviii busellis aven' prec' bus' vd. .. .. vii s. vi d.
In ferris equorum .. .. ii s. x d½.
In 1 porcell' empt' .. .. v d.
In ii lagenis lactis empt' .. .. ii d½.
In sale empt' .. .. ii d½.
In 1 lect'[3] conduct de *Margeria Wysengre* .. .. vii d.
In 1 lect'[4] conduct de *Isabella ffacherell* .. .. vii d.
In v. lib' lis (*liminis ?*) albi empt' prec' lib' 1d. ob. .. .. .. vii½.
In prosternatione 11 xii focal' .. .. viii d.
In cariagg' ejusdem .. .. viii d.
Postea tempore Senescalli Purs' et aliorum.
In pan' alb' empt' .. .. iiis. vi d.
In ix lag' melioris cervisie empt' *Johannes Frythe* prec' 1. 1½ .. .. xiii d. ob.
In vi lagen' secund' cervisie de eadem .. .. vi d.
In ix t cerevisie empt' de *Johanne Excetre* .. .. ix d.
In carne de *Richo. Beleson* empt' .. .. ii s.
In 1 porcell' empt' .. .. vd.
In caseo (?) de *Emota Chapman* empt' .. .. ii½.
In x bus' avenæ empt' pret' bus' iiii d. ob. .. .. iii s. ix d.
In iiii lb. liminis albi' empt. .. .. vi d.
pb' ext' de eodem tempore.
Die veneris tempore senescalli ut infra solutum apud Gloucestriam pro piscibus rec' et sals' cum iiii d. in oystris iiii d. in vino et ii d½ in ferris equi Johannis' Abraham .. .. xxii d.
Die sabato sequente in pisc' ibidem et (*in*) vino empt' .. .. .. xvi d.
Summa xv s. xi d.
Postea in expensis Senescalli et Purs' ibidem existen' per ii dies finientes (?) in vigilia Conversionis S. Pauli pro comunicatione habendo cum Vicario de Bysley versus eosm qui venationem fecerunt in parco Domini ex speciali desideratione ejusdem Vicarii.

1. Seconds or inferior.
2. Seconds or inferior.
3. Litter
4. Litter.

In pane albo	xix d.
In cerevisia empt' de *Margeria Olde* xvii lagenis	xxii d.
In carne empt' de *Roberto Wayte*	v d.
It. de *Rico Belesone*	xi d.
In 1 pullett	ii d.
In lme albo (*white grease*)	iii d.
In iiii bus' provend' precio bus' vd	xx d.
In ferris equor'	xiii d.
Summa	lx s. ix½.

Payn. Expensis Senescalli extistent' ibidem ad curiam tentam ibidem die martis proxim' ad festum sanctæ Marie Magdalene per iiii noctes et iii dies. Anno Regis Henrici VIti octavo.

In primum in pane albo empt' de Johanne Baker	ii s. vi d.
Item in viii (lagenis) cerevisie empt' de Isabella Exetre pretio 1d½ (1½ per gallon)	xii d.
„ in iiii (*lagenis*) cervisie empt' de eadem pretio lag' ii d.	viii d.
„ in vi. lag' empt' de Agneta Twynynge pretio lag' iid.	xii d.
„ in 1 pot' cervisie empt' de dicta Isabella	i d.
„ in carnibus bonis empt' de Ricardo Belsone	ix d.
„ in iii qrs carnis multonis empt' de eodem	xvi d½.
„ in carnibus bonis empt' de Th' Wayt	iii d.
„ in di' carcasii carnis mult' empt' de Johe Belson	xi d.
„ in 1 capon do. do.	iiii d.
„ in ii pultell do. do.	iii d.
„ in 1 porcell' do. do.	vi d.
„ in columbell' do. do.	i d.
„ in duobus piscibus emptis de Johanne ffox cum iid pro cariagio	xi d½.
„ in ovibus emptis	ii d.
„ in butir' empt'	ii d.
„ in ii lagenis lactis emptis	ii d.
„ in sal' et farin' aven' emptis	ii d.
„ in 1 lib' liminis alb' empt'	i d½.
„ in croco et piper' empt'	i d½.
„ in ferris equorum	xxi d.
„ in vii busellis aven' pretio bs' vd	2 s. xi d.
„ in prosternatione et cariagio di' duodecim' focal'	iiii d.
„ in locione naparie (?)	1½
Summa	xvi s. viii d. ob.
Summa totalis expens' istarum iiii cedular'	vi li. viii s. vd.

A LIST OF PURCHASES

[Dec. 7, 1440].

Item to de la Haye iiii stekkyngs of wollen Clothe the price	xd.
Item delyvered to olde elvryge (? Elvira) wife of Churysdone as moch wollen clothe as commeth iij s. and j d. to be payed at Mydsomer next commyng	
Item delyvered to Watkyng Croydy wyff to Thomas Sparrow and a scherte and an apryn clothe the price	xvj d.
Item delyvered to Harry Dudbryge a cade of spreotte the price ij s. and xxxx *li.* of Reysynnys the price of them iij s. and iiij d.	v s. iiij d.
Item delyveryed to John Morers halfe a decen of Wyke yeyrne the price	xv d.
Item to Willyam Baker servaunt to John Barnard ij shurtes price	ij s. iij d.

Item to Thomas Smyth at Alvyngate ij yardes *di.* quarter of Redde clothe price the yard v s.	xj s. iij d.
Item to Gregory of Wyttecombe for j *li* of blewe threed	xiij d.
Item to Sir Richard Baker ij. stykkes j quarter of Blakke fustyan Item ij yards Canwas j stykke and iij quarters lynyng	ij s. x d.
Item to Elnore Tonnysend for *di* elle of holand	vj d.
Item to Pase is wiffe	xij d.
Item to Sir Thomas Kemys iij yardis *di.* grene cloth price the yard vj s. viij d. Summa	xxiij s. iiij d.
Item to Sturdys wyfe yn lynyn cloth	ij s. ij d. ob.
Item to Thomas Wymon ffor wollen cloth	iij s.
Item to John More ffor wex	vij s.
Item to William Ermyn ffor bockeram and lynyn cloth .. .. the *di.* yard Bokeram	vij s. v d.
Item to Willyam Michall ffor a gowne of colthe the price .. .. ther is ij s. to payng	x s. wheroff
Item to the same Willyam ffor j *lib.* hemps	iiij d.
Item to Walter Berowe iij. quaters saten and j sette of sipres	vi s. viij d
Item to the taylour before Andrewe Bye for j shurte	xiiij d.
Item Alson Adams remeynth unpayde for j sette	v d.
Item Margeri Morgan for j apron	ix d.
Item to Henry Dudbrygge on Ester Evyny for Tesylls ij s. (teasels) Item for ij brode yardes blanket xx d. Summa	iij s. viij d.
Johannes More for *di* dosen Wex iij s. vj d. suerte William Wallewen ..	iij s. vj d.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LATER TALBOTS—THE RALEGHS—THE 1ST EARL OF SHREWSBURY MODIFIES THE CUSTOMS OF THE MANOR—THE CUSTOMS OF 15TH CENTURY HERE.

GILBERT, Lord Talbot (1) died in 1387 and was succeeded by a second Sir Richard (his son by Joan de Stafford) who was then 26 years of age. *Richard*, Lord Talbot, who had marched against the Scots with his father in 1385, had married in the previous year Ankaret, sister of John, Lord Lestrange of Blackmere. In 1392 he was found to be cousin and heir to John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke. He, however, died in 1396 (aged 36), seized of the Manors of Painswick, Morton, Whaddon, Badgeworth, and Lydney in Gloucestershire ; Braxted, Hassingbroke and Walbury in Essex ; Doddington, Brockwardine, Blackmere (*i.e.* Whitchurch) in Salop ; Bampton, Oxon ; Goodrich castle with the Hundred of Archenfield, the castle of Kilpec (Co. Hereford), and other properties.

He left, in addition to Sir Gilbert (2), four other sons and four daughters. The second son, *John*, lived to become Lord of Painswick (and lived here) and Goodrich, and famous in History as the great *Earl of Shrewsbury*, the Alcides of England. The third, Richard, became Archbishop of Dublin ; while Anne, the eldest daughter, married Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon. Ankaret, (1), the widow, married (1401) secondly Sir Thomas Neville,[1] Lord Furnivall, whose daughter Maud (c. 1406/7) had married the above John Talbot as his first wife.

Gilbert (2), now Lord Talbot, in 1404 defeated the Welsh, who had risen with Owen Glendower against Henry IV. and became closely associated with Prince Henry, afterwards Henry V., in his Welsh campaign. He married in 1400, Joan, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, but had no issue, and secondly, Beatrix, a Portuguese lady, by whom he had an only child, Ankaret who, (2) succeeded him at his death on Oct. 19, 1419, in his

[1] *Thomas Neville, Knt.*, Lord Furnivalle by right of his wife Joan (d. 1413) d. of Wm. Ld. F., had held 1/3rd of the Manors of Payneswyke, Moreton, and Whaddon ; the said 1/3rd of the m. of Payneswike is worth £15 6s 8d. a year, and is held of the King in Chief by Knight-service. The said Thomas died on Monday before Palm-Sunday last. Maud and Joan, his daughters and heirs, are aged 15 and more, and 2½ respectively (1407).

possessions, being then but an infant of two years. In the IPM. Henry V., a. 9 (1421) she is called " Ancareta filia et hæres Gilbert Talbot Chivaler defuncta : Tenementa vocatur Damyselles-land juxta Painswick." (p. 99). So she died seized of this as a dower-portion, which (we saw) had been named from a family called Damsels, and it appears to have possessed a Hall-house.

In 1425 Sept. 6 *at Payneswycke* Lord Talbot and Furnival, enfeoffed *Richard, Earl of Warwick*, (Beauchamp) whose dau. *Margaret* he now married as his 2nd wife,—with his manors of *Payneswicke, Morton, Whaddon* and a moiety of *Badgworth* together with a water-mill at *Westbury*—moieties in *Lydney, Longhope, Leigh and Huntley, and Eccleswall, Co. Heref.* The deed mentions the other feoffees including Richard the Clerke of Paynswycke, The chief witness is *Sir John Pauncefote ;* next, *Johannis Grevell, Guy Whittington*, Thomas Henneburgh, Thomas Harsfeld (Seal gone).

In consequence of Ancaret's demise, her uncle, John Talbot, inherited these lands of hers in Painswick, as Sir John Talbot, Lord Talbot and Furnival having (1405/6) married Maud (d. Dec. 13, 1421), eldest co-heiress of Thomas Neville, Lord Furnival. By this title he had been summoned to Parliament in 1409. On the death (1419) of his brother, Gilbert, he quitted Ireland, where he had been severely handling the rebels, and next year he accompanied the King (Henry V.) into France, entering Paris triumphantly with him in 1420. He soon after learned of his niece's death and his own succession to Painswick, Goodrich, and to a multitude of other lands. He was, however, now become so distinguished a captain that the King retained his services in France until his own death 1421, and in which same year Talbot lost his wife.[1] We need not follow here his famous career, which is a matter not belonging to this apparently favourite Manor, so much as to France and England, nor the forty battles in which he is said to have fought before his death at Chastillon, near Bordeaux, in 1453.

The Homage of the Manor in 1429 declare that the Abbot of S. Peter's, Gloucester, and its tenants, have encroached on the lands of the Lord thereof at Horsepoles in the tything of Edge, an interesting mention of the locality still known by that name, and where a spring now supplies a horse-trough.

[1] In the Deed of Feoffment (referred-to) made at Payneswyck Sept. 6, 1425, at his Painswick Residence, Talbot as ' *Dominus Talbot* (*et de Furnivalle*), enfeoffs Richard E. of Warwick, with his Manor of Payneswyke, Morton, Whaddon, a moiety of Longhope, Hunteleye, Lyghe, Lydeneye, and also his manor of Eccleswall in Co. Hereford, with all belongings and rights attached to them soever and he will warrant the Assignees and their heirs against all, etc. He affixes his Seal in the presence of Sir John Pauncefote, John Grevell Guy Whitington Thomas Henneburgh, Thomas Harsfelde and others. ' *Dat* ' *apud Payneswyke* sextoidie mensis Septembis anno Regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum quarto.' [In the author's possession].

Probably in those days pack-horses carrying Cotteswold wool and corn to Gloucester market passed this way and slaked their thirst before continuing their route along the escarpment and Huddiknoll above Holcombe and presently dropping from it by the old stoned way once called Stockley-way (?Roman-British) of which Dr Th. Ashby and the writer found (1903) and measured sufficient remains running direct across the corn-fields below and beyond Cudhill.

Some of the place-names mentioned are worth recording. Wycceshalls-feld, or later Woosalls, was in Stroud-end tything. Pernellshouse : Crompelyns : Tydeley-le-Freys (Frith ?) In Shepscombe, Haselonde : Wynfords : Maynards : both the latter evidently giving the names of former tenants ; also Smallyns Mill : Wodhammede :[1] Gysesmill and Sewardes, at Strode-end. Names of tenants : Robert Wych, John Tunley, Lister, Attwood, Caleston, Oliffe, Holcote, Collins, Wynford, Chese, Good-and-fair. High-street is mentioned and New-street and the Barnet-street (Gloucester-street, Paradise, and Alban's Cross,[2] also a New Hall, of which, presently. The latter of these crosses probably became Damsel's Cross, as Alban's Cross is not mentioned later. Incidentally a portion of road toward Stroud is mentioned named Caldrich-street,[3] on the south side of the highway. The hill that mounts up toward Miserden from Shepscombe bore the name of Ellernehill[4]—' Mons vocatur Ellernehull.' William Forthy asks the Lord of the manor that a proper road for waggons, flocks, and animals, may be made on the northern side of the same (above Shepscombe), so that they need not run on to his ground called Maynardes, otherwise Churches. This was granted (1426). Here we obtain the date of one local road.

It is interesting to note that Edgworth[5] had now passed from the de Heliuns by marriage into the tenure of the Devonshire Raleighs of Charles. William Raleigh, who owns Northcote, and five other manors in Devon, and four fees, succeeds his father Thomas Raleigh there in 1420, and together with the sub-manor of Edgworth he holds the advowson of Edgworth Church ; ' ut de Manerio de Payneswick,' as from the Manor of

[1] At Paradise, a demesne-land.

[2] The name of this cross does not re-occur in later days.

[3] This is of interest, being one of a class of surviving names,—such as Caldicot, Cold-Harbour, Cold Comfort,—found associated with ancient roads and signifying refuge without fire. The Cold ridge probably=Wickridge there, above Wick-Street.

[4] Elder-tree-hill. This plant in many Cotteswold districts is still regarded with grave reserve, and, though found destructive to hedges, people will not burn it or even uproot it. They say at Chedworth "The Devil is in the chimney" if it is put on the fire. The wine was, however, well regarded, and often it was very strong.

[5] Edgworth still pays 2s. annually to the Lord of the Manor of Painswick.

Painswick. In 1495 we find Sir Edward Ralegh holding a parcel of land in Eggeworthe at a rent of XIId. And later, in the 16th century, we shall see their descendants still living there.

In 1427, the Cal. Pat. Rolls tells us that Walter Woodburn of Payneswick, gentleman, was fined for not having appeared before the King's Justice to answer John Ashewell, grocer, and citizen of London, touching a plea of debt of £10 17s. 7½d. (May 27 : p. 373). He was, however, back, none the worse, at Payneswick in 1428, and he came to Court and took over from the lord for seven years, at a rent of 3s. 4d., a manorial dovecote together with a garden adjoining it.

To 1429 belongs the curious tenure noticed in the *History of the Church of St. Mary*, by which Sir John Launder, perpetual Vicar of the Parish of Payneswick, took timber in Longridge Wood, on payment of 6d. annually at the Feast of the Annunciation, the demise or lease being settled by the presentation of a woodcock taken there.

'Dimissio unius Gallorum volatilis silvestrium.[1] Ad istam Curiam venit Johannis Launder perpetuus Vicarius Ecclesie de Paneswyk et cepit unum volatilem gallorum sylvestrium de novo per consensum Domini in quodam bosco vocat' Langridge ordinal' cum certo spatio de jure ad dictum volatilem . . . dandum ad cust' Johannis dicti Vicarii sine vasto facto et super hoc Dominus concessit dicto Johanni Launder dictum volatilem gallorum tenendum sibi ad terminum vitæ sue secundum consuetudinem Manerii reddendo inde annuatim ad festum Annunciatonis Beate Marie vid Et non dat de fine causa . . . dicti volatilis et fecit fideliter.'[2]

The quarried rough slope facing Painswick and the valley just below the said wood is still known as Cockshoot Mead, and a few of these birds are annually seen, and occasionally shot, thereabout. (*ex inform ; Th. Hanks*, 1904. In Aug. 1552 *Cockshote* had a lease of 13 years at xs p.a. from John Myll to Thomas Clarke when Sir Anthony Kingston was lord of the Manor.

In 1429 occurs mention of a New Hall (Nova Aula)[3]. This probably refers to a Cloth-makers' Hall. William Hauchyns, a tenant, surrenders a cottage situated in a road called Barnet Street (*i.e.* later Gloucester Street) in the northern part of the village, between the New Hall and the house of Richard Parton, to William Snow and Joan his wife. Paradise is mentioned as near Alban's Cross and above 'Wodhammede,' also known

[1] A curious roundabout description of the bird intended. 'Gallivolatium' was the word for a cock-shoot or cock-glade.

[2] The deed was in a bad condition when last seen (1902).

[3] Cf. Appendix to this chapter. It may have succeeded an older one.

as Wodhamlese; so a cross marked two tracks joining near Paradise[1] in those days.

The *New Street* perhaps was made so as to approach the *New Hall*, High Street (now Bisley Street) had no gap (or Cheltenham Rd.) until 1820. In *Mr Burdock's* garden wall (London House) that divides off *New-Hall* are remains of 2 small *cusped arches* in ancient masonry: perhaps pointing to c. 1300 a former 'Aula Vetusta.' They are rebated for shutters. The chamfer'd '*set-off*' of the S. end of the Hall survives in the outer garden-wall to Bisley street.

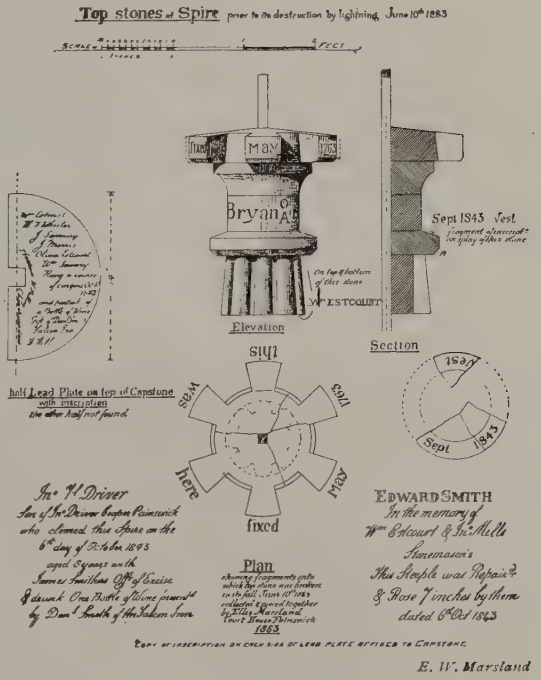
The seneschal or steward of the Manor at this time was one Thomas Fetteplace.

In a *View of Frank Pledge* (1429-30), the Homage, consisting of William Attelake, Nich. Hathemere, Will. Ludlawe, Wm. Hugens, John Combe, John Chapman, Symon Ferrour, Philip Fletcher, Nicholas Clerke, Rich. Wynfford, Rich. Taylour and Wm. Broke, being sworn, declare that *John Coofe Webbe* who holds from the lord has incurred a certain penalty applying to all demesne tenants (as is fully shewn in Rolls of the manor), infringing the rule namely that no tenant shall implead in any other Court than the lords—that is 40s. fine. Now John Coofe Webbe and John Hareford, went to the Fair-days at Tewkesbury with two horses, respectively worth 10s. and 6s. 8d., and did trade there, and there in the Portmote court the former recovered certain moneys by selling those horses unshoed. It is therefore a case for penalty. The accused puts himself upon the grace of the lord and of his steward: and a fine of two shillings is imposed. The smallness of the fine suggests that Webbe (who thus strangely owned two christian names) was an important or very useful tenant. It is to be recalled that one John Cooff owning demesne at both Edgworth, at Lassington and Preston was a free-tenant. But as he proved to be an idiot his lands were taken into the King's hands by the escheator in 1358. But John Coofe was first cousin to Sir Thomas Ralegh of Charles, who was his heir to the third part of the Manor of Edgworth held

[1] It will be re-called that there is one Paradise at Harescombe and another at Cheltenham: and a Paradise Row in London. The origin of the term is doubtful. It may however, be mentioned that in 1405 seeds called 'grains of Paradise' coming from Tripoli were sold in England at 6s. per lb., and in 1443 at 2s. 6d. This was probably *gran turco*, otherwise maize, for it can scarcely be identical with *Amomum* (*Grana Paradisi*, or *Guinea-grains*), to which Virgil refers as a balsam (cf. Plin. NH. xxxvii. 204) either Cardamom or Cinnamon. The pollen-like transferability of plant-names is notorious. Probably lords of certain Manors experimented hopefully with it upon selected plots of demesne-land. It is auspicious to this suggestion that the particular meadow called *Wodhammede* at Paradise was regarded as demesneland. It may be that the clue to the field-name *Paradise* does indeed lie here. Another sheltered meadow, (of 6 acres) of the name lay in Hamm on the way to Edge.

REMAINS AT NEW HALL (Bisley Street), BEFORE RESTORATION (1907)

facing p. 98



RESTORATION OF SPIRE AFTER TWICE BEING STRUCK 1763 & 1883

A NORMAN VOUSSOIR, c. 1130-40

at that time and in 1362 (when he died) from Elizabeth, Lady Bromwich (formerly Comyn of Badenoch and Lady Talbot), of Payneswick manor. Hence, the possession in particular of this peculiar name evidently carried some singular effect, though we can get no closer.

A list of expenses (q v Ch. VI) of the Steward during Court Days (1430) gives the names of the chief tradesmen and the prices of provisions in Painswick. Rich. Beleson is the Common butcher, John Fox sells fish. Joan Fuyster and Juliana White are Common malstresses, Simon Baker bears the name of his trade. John Abraham is the smith and shoer of horses. A chicken cost 3d., half a goat 5d. Two lampreys 8d. Three quarters of mutton 16½d., half a sheep 9d., a dove 1d., butter 2d., two pullets 3d., six gallons of beer 1s., spices and pepper 1d., a bushel of oats 5d., two gallons of milk 2d.

When the Court of the manor was held in 1430, possibly it was not known in Payneswick that its Lord was become a prisoner of war in France. In that condition he remained until 1432 when, on being exchanged and set at liberty,[1] he commenced a series of successful military exploits in conjunction with the Duke of Bedford. This led to his being created Earl of Shrewsbury in 1442 (a. 20, Hen. VI.) Eleven years later, still fighting, he fell at Chastillon nr. Bordeaux, together with John, Viscount Lisle of Kingston Lisle (Berks) his eldest son by his second marriage, and who had himself lately married Joan, daughter of Sir Thomas Cheddar.

By this union the latter left two daughters (Elizabeth married to Sir Edward Grey and Margaret to Sir George Vere), together with one son, Thomas (b. 1443), who succeeded his father (John), as Viscount Lisle (1453),and finally inherited Painswick, Moreton Valence and Whaddon (His mother's Dowry, 1426), Goodrich Castle, with the rest of the family manors, passed away to the elder branch, viz., to John, second Earl of Shrewsbury.

The Inq. Post Mortem (p. 53) A. 32, Hen. VI. (1453) of the first Earl runs thus : (as far as we are concerned).

" Johannes Comes Salopiæ :

" 1. Payneswick Manerium et 10 messuagia (houses) 3 molendini (mills) 14 virgat' terræ 10 acr' prata' (fields) et 20 acr' bosci (wood) ibidem.

" Et Panyswike :

parcella[2] terræ juxta Paneswyke, vocata Damysellondes. [Damsel's lands].

[1] He became exchanged for Ambroise de Loré, Lord of Ivry (1396–1446).

[2] And a parcel of land near P. called Damsels-lands.

" 3. Morton.
" 4. Whaddon, &c."
" 5. Huntlege.
" 6. Longhope.
" 7. Lydeney.
" 8. Legh.
" 9. Hunsham.

But it is necessary to turn to two deeds or rather early copies of such, which throw considerable light not only upon improvements effected in the condition of the tenants of the manor in the 15th cent. but also on the great Earl as a benign manor-lord.

The first of these was transcribed by Rudder in his *History of Gloucestershire*, 1779 (pp. 593-4) scarcely from an original, more probably from an Elizabethan copy of one. The date of that should have been 1440-3. It betrays editing. [For No. 2, see p. 118].

" Com : Glouc : "

" The Court holden at Painswicke the XXIst day of Aprille A.D. 1400,[1] at which Courte came Lord Talbot, (Earle of Shrewsbury), his owne person, with Sir William Mill, knighte,[2] his receiver by patent, Giles a' Bridges,[3] Esquire, and Thomas a' Bridges, his sonne, and their stewards and surveyors jointlie by patent, together, to the said Lord Talbot, of Paineswick, Whaddon and Morton. And the said Lord Talbot declared at the said courte certayn Articles as hereafter enseweth :

" 1. The first Article was : That hee had been beyond the sea in the King's wars, and at that time he had XVI men out of the Lordshipp of Painswicke, of the which there were XI married men slain, whereby the widdows cryed on the said Lord Talbott, not onely for loosing their husbands, but also for loosing their holdings, and some of them were his bondmen.

" 2. The second Article contayneth how the said Lord Talbott was disposed to let his Desmesnes unto his customary tenants with all the herbage and pannage and tacke of pigs, of the common hills and pasture of arable lands, both to the whole yards (virgates), half-yards, farnedells (quarter-yard lands) and mundaies grounds (eighth-yard lands).

" 3. The third Article contayneth how the said Lord Talbot will to every widdowe in the said lordshippe for their good will their herriots to the nexte of their kynne, according to the praisemente as they were praysed at,

[1] Should be c. 1442/3.

[2] Of Harescombe. He married Frances Winchcombe, and they were attainted a. 1, Edward IV. He was slain at Towton, 1461.

[3] Of Coberley, heirs to the last Berkeley-lords thereof. They owned various small holdings in the town of Painswick. Probably more than one scion of the family was parker here for the Talbot Lords.

The Frith Wood *Juniper Hill*

THE CHURCH, PAINSWICK

facing p. 100

THE OLD TOWN HALL OR STOCK HOUSE, 1628-1840

and alsoe waved[1] (waifed) and strayed goods, payeing the praysement thereof to the takers thereof.

" 4. The fourth Article conteyneth how he would dimisse (demise) himself from man's reepe, wife's reepe, and child's reepe from the burgages and cottages which were builded out of his demesnes in the Newe street of Painswicke.

" 5. The fifth Article conteyneth how that he would lett out his arable lands, reserving two meadows for his horses and deare, that is to say, Whaddon meadow, and Band meaddow.

" 6. The sixth Article conteyneth whether the tennants would have the tenure of Damsells into their custome or noo.

" 7. The seventh Article conteyneth how that he would knowe how many freeholders there were in the lordshippe of Painswicke.

" 8. The eighth is touching the iiii warrants of Conyes (Rabbits.)

" Upon the which Articles there were chosen at the Court XX men to make answer. There were chosen XII out of the homadge of his customary tenants, which be whole yards (*i.e.*, those holding virgates) half-yards, ferendels and mundies ; and of the town of Painswicke were chosen VIII. men, which be burgesses, curtalagers and cottagers, and of the which twenty men were chosen iii out of the Homadge of Edge, that is to day, William King, Thomas Castle, and Robert Tonley ; iii out of the Homadge of Strowde ; the which were William Ward, William Browne and William Jordeyne ; iii out of the Homadge of Sheppiscombe, which were John Wether the elder, William Mynsterworth and John Bonhill of the Beech ; iii out of the Homadge of Sponebed, which were William Sponebed, William Merriman, and Thomas Sawcome (Salcombe) ; and viii out of the Town of Painswicke, that is to say William Squawe, William Pytt, John Castle, Thomas Collins, William Chamber, Robert Frampton, William Scott and Thomas Shawe : the which Inquest being impannelled, the said Lord Talbot gave them charge to bring in an answer to the said Articles.

" 1st. Concerning the widows' estate, whether they should hold their living and marry as ofte as they were widows.

" 2nd. For the second Article, what they would bring in, and make in ready money for yearlie rent, for his herbage of his common hills, and waste grounds, and pannage of his woods, and tacke of piggs, and to sett yard, half-yard, ferendells, and mundies through the whole lordshippe by equal portions, and what value and sum they would bring him in for the same.

[1] Stolen.

FULHAM PALACE

" 3rd. The third, the Heriots given to the widdowes, also concerning waived goods and strayed goods.

" 4th. The fourth, concerning the dimising himself from man's reepe, wife's reepe and child's reepe. [Wife-rip, &c.]

" 5th. The fifth, concerning the setting out of his arable lande to his tenants, both in the towne and country, and the said Inquests should bringe in what every man would give for an acre. Also, likewise that the said Inquests should bring in an answer of all the other Articles.

" The Answer of the said INQUESTE given to the said Lord Talbot concerning the said Articles as hereafter followeth :

" 1. Touching to the First, the said Inqueste do agree that the widdowes shall break their old custom, and *that they should have their livings during their life, and marry with whom they liste.* And the said Lord Talbot agreed to the same and enrolled it in the Court and Custom.

" 2. As concerning the Second, touching herbage and pannage, tacke of piggs, of the common hills and pasture of arable land, the said Inquest brought in x lib overed in the rent of Assize, (rents, that is of free- and copyholders) every man to his portion, to which the said Lord Talbot agreed, and enrolled it in his Custom-booke.

" 3. As concerning the Heriotts given to the widdowes at the praisement thereto. Also waived goods and strayed goods, the said Inquest brought in that the said widdowes should have it according as the Lord's will was.

" 4. The said Inqueste brought in their answer concerning the Reepes (rips) that they should be dismissed by reason (that) *the said Lord gave up his Householde* (*i.e.* living at Painswick).

" 5. The answer of the arable land, the said Inqueste brought in that every man should have a portion, the best lands at XIId an acre, the second for VIIId an acre, the third VId, the fourth for IIIId an acre, and some for IId the acre, all which demaines was sett, saving XIII acres lying in Duddescombe in the Culverhouse Hill. And at the laste came one William Jourdayn and took the said XIII acres of land of the said Lord for XIId. by year, with a Culverhouse (Colombarium) decayed, payeing for the same 11d by the yeare, and four acres of barren lande lying in Huddinals[1] Hill. For the said IIII acres came William Tonley and took it of the Lord for 1d an acre by the yeare. And in a little space every man made a copy of his portion and the said Lord sealed them.

" Touching DAMSELL'S Land, the said Inqueste brought in, that

[1] Now Huddiknoll, at Edge.

every man[1] should hold it according to the custom, as other tenants do, payeing their rent and reliefe and no other custome to the Lord. And there were half-yarde lands in Shepescombe the which the said Lord Talbot diminished at the said Courte, one called Crouches and the other Jones. Out of Crouches the said Lord bated XII acres lying in the parke, and out of Jones VIII acres. And the Lord ceassed (assessed) Crouches land at 2s. by (the) year, and Jones lands at VIIId by yeare, and graunted them to be customary holders in their comen (common) as other, both for the batement of the said Lande. That is to say, XII acres out of Crouches, which lyeth in the Park in Cockshoute lande, and VIII acres out of Jones, lying in the said Parke, in Bushie lande. And for having of the said lande into the Parke, the said Lord covenanted at the same time to pay the King at every taske VIs.

" The said Inquest brought in for freeholders the Prior of Lantonye, certayne tenements given by the said Lord of late to the House of Flaynesforde,[2] conteyning V yard land with 2 watermills. *The Almoner of the Monasterie of S. Peter's in Gloucester paying to the Lord's kitchen yearly at the feaste of our Lord God*, one mutton sheepe. Pigs Lands, De la Meeres lands in Sheppescombe, John Robbin's lands, Rose's[3] lands, otherwise called Damsells, the which the said Lord had in his hands at that time already, of late the feoffees of the lands of our Lady since in the Church of Painswicke, and Henry Huynes for Withers lands.

" The said Inqueste brought in at the said Courte for their Answere concerning the iiii warrants (rabbit warrens) that every homadge should have one, as hereafter followeth, that is to say, Duddescombe, and the ii. Frethes (Friths[4]) in the homage of Stroud, homage for Edge, Arnegrove and Highgrove; in Sponebed, Kynsbury with Hawking Hill (*i.e.* the Camp) the fourth in Longridge and Nettlebeds in Shepescombe. And the said Inquest desired the Lord to ceasse (assess) the Rent what every tithing should pay for their warrants. And the said Lord graunted that every tithing should pay yearly IIIs. IIIId. doeying his neighbour noe harme. And the said IIII homadges to increase conies soe that they doe not hurte their arable lands or corne.

" And at the same courte the said Lord Talbot dismissed (demised) his iii. weeks Courte, and comytted it (*i.e.* commuted) to ii courtes in the year onelie

[1] *i.e.* holder. *Crouches* is misspelled *Chrochen* in Rudder we have noticed that it was held to be appendent to the manor of Ebbworth.

[2] At Goodrich, Co. Hereford, namely Seagrims.

[3] From an annual rent of a red rose.

[4] The woodlands now called ' the Frith wood and Faith wood : ME *frith* means a wood.

for Payneswicke, and dimissed Whaddon and Moreton. And that noe man of the said tennents should sue another in any Courte, but in Payneswick Court, (saving in the High Courts above), and in the Marches of Wales.

" Furthermore, the said Lord commanded his tennents to keepe his custome, every man in his behalfe, and *that noe Sheriffe nor Bayley arrant*,[1] *nor noe other out* (*outside*) *officers should serve any writte or warrant on any of the said tennents* without the goodwill of the Steward there for the tyme being. Att the same Courte came William Sponebed, Amner[2] of the Monastery of S. Peter's in Gloucester, and James Mylle of Ebworth, being farmer[3] there, and agree with the said Lord for IIs. by the yeare for the mutton sheepe and to release the III weekes courte. And also, the said William Sponebed and James Mylle desired the said Lord at the said Courte to have a copie out of the same Courte Roll, and the Lord graunted them, and the said William Sponebed wrought it out with his owne hand.

" Moreover, the said Lord willed his tennents that if any man came to claim any lands in the lordship of Payneswicke that he or they that soe claimeth should have a courte loking, paying for the same IIs and enter the same, and that there should be chosen XII men, III out of every homadge. And if the matter were in the town (*i.e.* Painswick) that then they should choose VIII men out of the towne, and one out of every homadge, and the Inqueste soe chosen should go into an house, and should not come forth of the said house until they had brought in their verdict of the same before the Steward for the time being, whoe had righte to the said land.

" Furthermore, if any of the tennants make a forfeite for lack of reparations, that every tenente so offending shall pay a double relieffe, and enter into his former estate again ; and if any refuse to pay the said relieffe, then it shall be lawefull for his next heire to enter into the saide grounds payeing the said relieffe. And like manner if any of the said tenants be attainted for Felonye or for any other cause, his nexte a kynne shall enter upon the grounde, paying to the Lord the aforesaid double relieffe."

This important record needs attentive comment, in order to yield its worth in illustrating the story of Painswick, and this it has perhaps never received.

The date occurring at the commencement is, of course, a mistranscription either by Rudder or, more probably, by an earlier copyist. But what should the date be ? It is necessary to approximate it as closely as possible.

[1] Errant.

[2] Almoner.

[3] Farmer for the Abbey of Gloucester's sub-manorial possessions there, by the Salt-ridge. The same family tenanted Ebbworth manor-farm for 70 years.

To start with, the Lord Talbot here referred-to, as having held his Court in person, and having had his household in the Manor, did not receive his earldom of Shrewsbury until May 20, 1442 (A. 20 Hen. VI) in which year he was in England. Next year he went back to France, but he returned in 1444, and became Lieutenant of Ireland in the following year. In the Rolls of the manor, some of which are perhaps still extant for years 6, 7 and 8, Henry VI. the financial results of Wife-rip and Child-rip (*i.e.* the amount of cereal or hay which women and children could reap) were duly entered. In a. 6, (or 1428/9), Wife-rip brought in 5s. 8d. and Child-rip 1s. In that for 1442 those items are nowhere to be found. But in Article 4 of the Lord's schedule given above is contained reference to the demising of them. The deed in question should therefore probably be dated c. 1442. This increases its interest and we must next examine the names of tenants occurring in it ; and here again we are fortunate. Robert Tonley, William King, William Mynsterworth, William Merryman, are all there. The other names, however, William Jourdayne, John Bonhill, do not appear. The holding in Shepscombe tithing called Crouches,[1] described in the above deed as a half-yard land, (and mis-spelled *Crochen*) is described in the Roll as a farendel, or quarter-yard land (not heriotable), held by John Wether (mentioned as in the Homage of Shepscombe in the deed). But if the lord " bated XII acres lying in the Park " out of Crouches, it must previously have been a half-yard land, and it became now reduced to something less than $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres, an average farendel, because a half-yard represents 15 acres, and 12 from 15 leaves but 3 acres. But weight must be allowed to the fact that in the Deed above-given the lord is never styled Earl, but Lord Talbot. In 1446 the Earl was in England, having brought over with him Queen Margaret. In 1448 he returned to France, and though again in England for six months and for the last time, in 1451, these months were filled with political business of great moment, and he may not have visited this county again.

The next point to notice is that the Inquest represents a thorough-going reform in the administration of the Manor framed in a benevolent spirit so as to remove certain ascertained grievances from which the tenants had doubtless cruelly suffered. And, of these grievances, the First Article sets forth directly, and strikes a key-note. The lord has received the bitter

[1] This is the same with *Crouches* which, (having been in possession of Walter of Bayeux), paid 2s. to the sub-manor of Ebbworth, which Cecilia FitzJohn (Countess of Hereford), had bestowed upon him before 1175, and which (c. 1205), he passed on to the monastery of St Peters, (Glos.), and of which the Steward of Painswick Manor in 1541 reported " *that one James Mylle with-holds 2s. which he ought to pay for Crouches prout capitali redditu manerii de Ebworthe solvendum manerio de Paynswycke* " (i.e. *the over-manor of the two*).

complaints of eleven widows in Painswick who having lost their husbands (who had gone forth fighting under their Lord into France), had thus forfeited their tenements to their next-of-kin, and further had had to pay heriots to the Lord of the manor. Some of their husbands had been free tenants (Liberi homines) and some were bondmen (nativi Domini) who might have become manumitted but whose rights were almost non-existent. The loss of their husbands had given them no right to marry again, while it had deprived some of them of their houses, *i.e.* turned them into destitute persons.

The Lord designed forcibly to do away with this scandalous state of things by granting that in future a widow should be enabled to marry again with whom she willed, and as often as she willed, and also that the heriot instead of being taken from her on succession should be forgone to her ; that she should retain her tenement ; and that finally after her decease the tenement or holding, although she may have married sundry times, should by right descend to her next heir.

This enactment seems (by the light of the customs in force in Elizabeth's later day), to have decreed that the wife of any tenant on the decease of her husband became admitted to her free-bench (*i.e.* one-third annual value) in the Lord's Manor Court, by the payment of one penny, and re-marriage on her part did not cancel her right to it, but the privilege continued during her life. It is not difficult to appreciate the great step in advance made by this enactment alone, which probably caused Painswick tenants to be envied by their neighbours in many adjoining manors.

The next point, constituting another grievance done away with by the lord, relates to herbage and pannage on the common lands, (woods and hills) and the waste-land of the Manor, upon which the tenants fattened their geese and pigs and horses, but only on payment for a license to the lord. As pork and bacon were important foods among the tenants, and in value came next to oxen and horses, and the pig throve on beech-mast and acorns, the animal's price was kept high owing to the exactions for license or for fine for non-taking out one. Again the tenants might not fell wood or cut fuel and brush without license from the lord, even if it occurred upon their own customary land. These grievances were likewise removed. Also, providing only that no trespass should be committed, Tenants, in future, might lawfully fell the woods, timber-trees, &c., growing *upon their tenements*, without license from the lord or interference from his officers.

The Lord of the Manor had hitherto kept certain portions of his great fief at Painswick, or demesne-lands, in Washwell, Duddescombe, Ham and Ifold, strictly in his own hands, that is to say, he did not let to farm to

COMPOUND TOMB

15TH, 16TH, 17TH CENTURY, ST. PETER'S CHAPEL, PAINSWICK CHURCH

facing p. 106

COURT-HOUSE (*Modern Entrance*)

THE AVENUE AT COURT-HOUSE

tenants of any degree on those lands, which, of course, contained the richest soil. He now decided to let these, his demesnes, to his certain customary tenants with all the herbage and pannage and tacke of pigs, and *that* in yard-lands (c. 30 acres) half-yard lands, farendels, and Monday grounds (eighth of a yard-land), just as in the rest of the Manor.

The Fourth Article " that the lord would dismiss himself from man's reepe, wife's reepe, and child's reepe from the burgages and cottages which were builded out of his demesnes in the new street of Painswick," is of threefold importance ; first, as regarding the lightening of the burden on the tenants of being taxed for man-rip, wife-rip, and child-rip ; secondly, because the Lord mentions that the New Street in Painswick has (evidently recently) been builded out of his demesnes (this gives us the date of New Street[1] as early XV. c.). Thirdly, the answer of the Inquest assenting to the Lord's proposal to demise to his tenants the tax on the ' Rip ' (if, indeed, this be what the obscure wording of that particular Article means to convey !) " The said Inquest brought in their answer concerning the ' reepes ' that they should be dismissed by reason the said Lord gave up his Householde."

This last is of especial interest, as it shews that the Earl kept his manorial court at Painswick whether at *Castle Hale* or (as later it was kept) in a special neighbouring *Court-house* next Hale-Lane ; moreover that (for settled reasons) he gave up personally holding it at this period (? c. 1442) ; and the Inquest considered this a good reason for his releasing his interest in the tax on ' Rip.' (Reap). The (so-called) present Court-House stands but thirty yards west of the now-ascertained site of the original *Court-house*. The acquisition of a fresh and very personal deed of the Earl's (being in effect his trust-deed for conferring Painswick and five lesser manors upon Margaret Beauchamp his second wife to be) in 1924 shews that this was drawn up at Painswick and the vicar then here was one of its witnesses. (Cf. p. 95. n).

Here, then, we have mentioned the New Street and its origin, and we also have some of it mentioned as in ' Novo Vico,' or New town. Since Painswick came directly after the Earl's death to the children of his second wife, in fact, to his grandson, the unfortunate Thomas, Viscount Lisle, who is known to have lived here, we may conjecture that the latter or his two sisters (his co-heirs in Painswick) may have been born here.

The present Tudor remains noticeable at the Lodge embody also a wing (on the N. side) of a secondary mansion built probably by the Earl's

[1] Beginning, of course, only at the modern Gloucester Street, then Barnet street. (The modern continuation, or Cheltenham road was made in 1820–1).

father. The window here illustrated and another upon the south-east side of the same wing, (found in 1926), may be as early as 1400. We, therefore, have remains extant, if not of the manor-house, or original Castle once occupied by the great John Talbot and his ancestors, the next most important residence on the manor,—of their Park Lodge,

The First Article of the Concessions was also revolutionary. The Lord would be pleased to let out his demesne-lands, both in Washwell (near the village) and in the country (Ifold, Duddescombe and Ham). This the Inquest arranged according to five different qualities of the land, as quoted above, excepting a certain XIII acres lying in Duddescombe ' on the Culverhouse Hill.'[1] And these were, it appears, taken by one William Jourdayne, for xiid. by the year and 2d. for the culverhouse.

Now it was the custom of the Manor that the tenants of these acres (called Thirteenes) were those bound to carry venison for the Lord into such and such places as he appointed, for the space of a day and a night apiece, at their own cost, or else stand to the annual fine of 8d. to the Lord's use, and if any tenant or sub-tenant had two of the acres, he paid xvid. From this time forward, therefore (probably from 1442), keen competition was begotten among the tenants for obtaining hold of demesne-land for farming in all the four demesne-portions, ' and in a little space every man made a copy of his portion, and the Lord sealed them.'

And then ' touching Damsells-Land '—that estate we have seen tenanted by the intermarried Sudgroves and Damsells sixty years before tho' in one part held from the sub-manor of Ebbworth then belonging to the Abbot of Gloucester. The Sudgroves and Damsells had here died out or had quitted the manor. ' The Inquest brought in that every man (tenant) should (be able to) hold it, according to the custome, as other tenants do, payeing their rent and relief, and noe other custom to the lord.' Accordingly the Lord allowed this also, and we find all the crofts, pastures, messuages on that estate, including ' le Hallehouse '[2] from this time onwards let out to various tenants, some fourteen in number. One particular croft or close called Cleycroft (not heriotable) was still let on the nominal rent of a red Rose payable on the feast of S. John the Baptist, to John Waxman, who lived until May 20th, 1485, when he was succeeded in his holdings by his half-brother, Nicholas Wolde. [This red-Rose tenure of Cleycroft continued until Elizabeth's reign, when it also was commuted for a money-rent.]

[1] This indicates the former whereabouts of a Manorial Dovecot at Dutchcombe.

[2] Possibly this had been the Hall of the De Stauntons in the tithing of Shepscombe a century and more earlier and theirs down to c. 1380,

The heriots were only exacted on yard and half-yard lands, and consisted of the best quick (living) cattle, or, in default, the best household stuff or goods, sometimes a spade or shovel. The rents were paid to the manor-Reeve at four dates in the year: The Feast of the Annunciation, the Nativity of St John the Baptist, St Michael, and Christmas, and the Reeve was given 26s. and 8d. for his trouble.

A further interesting point in the Inquest is the appearance put in by the Priors of Llantony and Flanesford as freeholders. It would seem that the Lord had lately augmented his ancestor's gift of land to Flanesford Priory. The two water-mills given by Sir Richard Talbot a hundred years before still figure, but the land with them has been increased to five virgates=perhaps 150 acres? This was situated (as before stated) near and around what is now Seagrym's or Ayers' Mill. The Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, is another free-holder, and having a carucate (? 120 acres and more) and a messuage at Ebbworth[1] paid two shillings rent annually and one mutton-sheep at Christmas to the Lord's kitchen, over above his other feudal obligations. The Feoffees of the lands of our lady, 'since in the Church of Painswick,' are also free-holders. But what are the lands of our Lady, and why are they stated to be 'since' in the Church of Painswick? A Rental (1495) of Henry VII. shews the Feoffatæ Beatæ Mariæ paying VIIId. and included as the holders of that parcel of lands called 'Thirteenes.' At that date they paid this sum to the manor-Lord, not to Llantony.[2] These feoffees were of course those who farmed the lands set aside by Walter Collins (c.) 1492 at Holcombe nearer the town in order to endow his new *Chantry* of S. Mary, i.e. the present easternmost chancel. But the phrase clearly shews that the deed is later than 1495, although (*we think*) a trustworthy copy of an original one with merely some additional needful touches.

[1] In some Elizabethan manorial rolls, long anterior to Rudder's date it is officially styled 'manor,' though the present writer long doubted it having been one. It is only mentioned here to show that Sir Francis Hyett evidently was quite unaware of this fact or even of the evidences supporting it, when he printed in *Glimpses of Painswick History* (1928) that Atkyns and the present writer and Rudder were all of them mistaken. Where Rudder obtained his judgment I don't know; but before me lies a Deed of the Manor-Lord, being in fact a View of Frank Pledge (1636) of Sir Ralph Dutton. It starts off thus:—

> Sir Henry Poole, Armiger, tenens manerium de Edgworth:
> Silvanus Wood, Armiger, *tenens Manerium de Ebbworth:*
> Willelmus Osborne, Generosus."

[2] "They hold one Burgage and twelve acres; and a messuage and a farendel of land; also 2 cottages with a garden, called Lycchefeld and Denys: another cottage with appurtenances: a cottage called Lyons with an acre of land, lately in the tenure of Richard Hyk; one parcel of land called Pekshals, with its garden, lying next the Pynfold." The annual rent of all these was £1 1s. 6½d.

The encouragement of rabbits seems to have been considered important. The warrens brought in 13s. 4d. p.a. in 1495. Ebbworth enjoyed free warren.

" Furthermore the said Lord commanded his tenants to keep his custom every man in his behalf, and that no Sheriff nor Bailiff arrant, nor no other out officers should serve any writ or warrant on any of the said tenants without the goodwill of the Steward there for the time being." The customs of the Manor (temp : Elizabeth) explain this significant distinction. " The custom is, and tyme out of mynde used hath bene, that the Sheriff or any of his Bayliffs or Ministers cannot enter within this Liberty to serve any process upon any person within the same ; unlesse it be with a Commandement or Subpœna." The bailiff here means the bailiff of the Hundred of Bisley or the portreeve of Gloucester. This meant that this Manor enjoyed a peculiar immunity from external jurisdiction. It stood somewhat, though not absolutely outside national police or justice. It was still used to justice administered by the Reeve. So that the rights of gallows, pillory and tumbrel were no doubt continued, and although we have no literary or other evidence of a gallows-place at Painswick itself, we have certain evidence of it having existed later at Shepscombe, where Sir Anthony Kingston, once a sheriff of the County, renewed (?) it in order to execute (presumeably) rebels against Queen Mary, or else, to reassert the ancient immunity of this manor from the sheriff.

Taking survey of this striking tale of the concessions of the Earl of Shrewsbury, it is manifest that if Painswick men had not served him remarkably well, that is bravely, in the long war in France, (as no doubt their forebears had served his father and grandfather before him back to the days of Crecy (1346)—they would scarcely have inspired the warrior of over sixty years of age with desire to reward them thus handsomely. That, to our mind, is the natural and proper explanation of this highly-interesting and fortunately handed-on document.

It is furthermore to be noted that whatsoever may have been the customs of the manor of Painswick previously to 1440-2, from that date forward, they underwent change in really liberal directions,—and that this advancement in their condition would surely become the main point of reference should difficulties arise in future days between the tenants and their manorlords at Painswick; as, indeed, it did.

The William Jourdeyne mentioned in the Earl's concessions as being of the homage of Strode, is represented through later times by the family of Hammond. In the famous Chancery suit between the Jerninghams (1614) and their tenants, John Hammond, the leading tenant, is always particularly mentioned as ' alias Jurden ' (Jourdeyne).

The last points to be noted are (1) That, holding from the King in chief, the Earl, for having into the Park, XII acres out of 'Crouches' and VIII acres out of 'Jones,' at Shepescombe, is to pay the King VIS. extra, at every taske, or four times a year; and (2) That instead of the Court-Baron being held for three weeks once a year, it is to be held twice a year, but not at Whaddon and Moreton manors. As the next deed will shew, both Moreton and Payneswick were valued at £20 per annum, and Whaddon at £12. Damsells[1] was held by the fiftieth part of a knight's fee. The interest of this other deed is almost confined to the passages regarding his Paynswick property.

It is, therefore, significant to remark the difference of the possessions in Payneswick of the two Earls of Shrewsbury. For, the second of these dying (also in battle) only seven years later than his father, in 1460, the Inquisitio of his property here runs thus :

" He held the Manor of Paynswick and 10 messuages, 3 mills, 14 yard-lands, 10 acres of meadow, 20 acres of wood in Paynswick, and that the said Manor was worth £20."

" 2 Parts, one Messuage there, and 2 carucates of land called Damyselles Lond." (Cf. IPM p. 289, A. 38-9, H. VI., 1459-60).

The greater portion of the Manor had been settled on to the issue of the Earl's second marriage,—namely, on Thomas Talbot, Visc. Lisle, whose father fell also at Châtillon while (it is said) rescuing the great Earl's body.

" (Copy of an Inquest of Office on the death of John, 1st Earle of Shrewsbury.)

" In the 33rd year of King Henry the Sixt which was Anno Dei 1453.

" It was found by a Jury upon an Inquest of Office to be seene in the Tower of LO. . .

" That John, late Earle of Shrewsbury, held the day wherein he dyed the Mannors of Huntley and Longhope of the King and the Dutchie of Lancaster, as of the Hundred of Munmoth (Monmouth) by the service of a knight's fee and (they) were worth by the yeare XIIIIs. and that he held the Mannor of Lydney, of Richard, Earle of Warwick, by what service they know not, and (it) was worth by the yeare 100s. And that he held a moiety of the Mannor of Beggworthe[2] not of the King, but of whom the same was holden, or by what service, they know not, and (it) was worth by the year XII li. And that he held the Mannor of Legh (nr. Deerhurst) of the Abbot of S. Peter in Glouc : by what service they know not, and (it) was worth by the year on iiij li. And that

[1] Independently of its name, *Damsels* was used by the Lords as *Dower-land* and it thus appears in *Talbot Deeds* IPM and could be held therefore separately from the other portions of the manor.

[2] Badgeworth.

he held the Hamlett of Honsom[1] in the marches of Wales to the County of Glouc : adjoyning, and that the said Hamlett was parcel of the Castle of Castle Goodrich in the Marches of Wales, to the County of Hereford adjoyning, and that the said Hamlett was holden of the King by the hundredth part of a knight's fee and was worth by the yeare XLs. and that he held six messuages, 200 acres of land and 20 acres of meadow in Sherington not of the King but of whom or by what service they know not ; and that he held a certain parcel of land called ' Damsells Land ' neere Paynswick of the King in capite by the service of the fiftyeth part of a knight's fee, and that he held the Mannors of Moreton and Whaddon of the King and of the Earldome of Derby by ffealty for all service and that the said Mannor of Moreton was worth by the yeare xx li. (£20), and the said Mannor of Whaddon was worth by the yeare XIJ li. (£12). And that he held the Mannor of Paynswick, and 10 messuages, 3 mills, 14 yarde lands, tenn acres of meadow and 20 acres of wood, in Paynswicke, and that the said Mannor was worth by the yeare, &c., xx li., and that he held one messuage, 40 acres of land and 4 acres of meadows in Westbury not of the King, but of whom or by what service they know not, and that John, then Earle of Shrewsbury, was sonne and heire of the aforesaid John, late Earle, and was of the age of 40 years.[2]

" See the Custome booke of the Customs of Painswick made in the yeare 1400 (should be c. 1443) in the tyme of John, Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord of the Mannor ; this undoubtedly was the same Lord, for albeit this record was 53 yeares after, yett it appears in the same record that John then Earle of Shrewsbury his sonne and heire was att that time, vizt. A° 1453, fforty yeares of age."[3]

[1] This is Huntsham Court now standing desolate in the great loop of the Wye near Symonds Yat.

[2] The 32nd year of Hen VI = Sept. 1, 1453—Aug. 31, 1454. Lord Shrewsbury (we may recapitulate was slain at Châtillon, Nr. Bordeaux, July 20, 1453, aged 62, fighting the famous Dunois in a losing battle. His son by his first marriage with Maud Neville d. of Lord Furnival, John 2nd Earl (K.C. and Lord high-treasurer), fell seven years later at Northampton (July 10, 1460). He was born c. 1413.

[3] The errors of dating above are due to a copyist of ? (c.) 1560.

APPENDIX

New Hall.

Ad hanc curiam venerunt Will's Hauchyns et Agnes uxor ejus uno assensu et sursumreddiderunt in manibus Domimi unum cotagium cum pertinentiis nuper Henrici Pipere situatum in strata vocata *Barnet Street* in parte Boreali inter *Novam Aulam* ex una parte et tenementum Nicholi Parton ex altera ad opus Willelmi Snow et Johanne uxoris sue et super hoc Dominus concessit dictum cotagium cum pertinentiis tenendum dicto Will°. Snow et Johanne uxore sue illis et suis secundum consuetudinem Manerii pro redditum et servicium inde prius devita .... et dant de fine xvid. et fecerunt fideliter et liber est iis seisina.

To this court came William Hauchyns and his wife Agnes of one consent and surrendered into the hands of the Lord a cottage with its belongings lately in tenure of Henry Piper situated in the street called Barnet Street in the north part of Painswick between New Hall on one side and the holding of Nicholas Parton on the other to the use of William Snow and Joan his wife. And the lord grants them the cottage and belongings to be held by Will'm Snow and Joan his wife and theirs according to the custom of the Manor for rent and service hitherto owed and accustomed a fine of xvid. is paid, homage rendered, and free possession given.

A portion of this building, together with a Henry VIth fireplace (in site), we believe to be included in the house formerly called *London House* at the corner of New Street and Bisley Street (i.e. High Street, until (1750).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LISLES AND THE BERKELEYS—THE BATTLE OF NIBLEY GREEN—EDWARD IV. AND MARGARET—A RENTAL, *TEMP :* HENRY VII.

DURING the middle third of the XVth century,[1] however, something of serious significance to the Lords of the Manor had been growing which was soon destined to culminate in a tragic crisis. I refer to the great family quarrel between the Beauchamps and the Berkeleys over possession of the Castle and Lordship of Berkeley ; a quarrel which developed a veritable private war in certain parts of Gloucestershire (1465, a. 5 Edward IV., P.R. pp. 441). The tenth Lord Berkeley[2] had left, by his wife, the heiress of Gerald Warren, Lord de Lisle, an only daughter, Elizabeth, who had married Richard Beauchamp,[3] Earl of Warwick. The latter obtained from Henry VI. the custody of the Castles, Manors, and Estates belonging to the last Lord Berkeley. A county Jury, however, on the strength of a Writ directed to Robert Gilbert the Escheator of Gloucestershire, found that James,[4] eleventh Lord Berkeley (d. Nov. 1463) was his uncle's heir male, and that he should inherit the Castle of Berkeley, and twelve manors constituting the Barony of Berkeley. The Earl and Countess of Warwick, however, having obtained possession of the Castle and its deeds, withheld it from him for three years. King Henry, from whom Berkeley was held in chief, at last was persuaded to interpose. James, Lord Berkeley, by bribing Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, with 1,000 marks, became established in the Castle, and a compromise was with difficulty effected, which, however, lasted only so long as Lord Warwick lived. Upon the latter's decease in 1439, leaving three

[1] We get few facts relating to Painswick during the reign of Edward IV. The following is from the Patent Rolls :—" Pardon to the King's servant, Thomas Herbert, one of the esquires of the body and Constable of the King's Castle of Gloucester, for the escape of William Glover, late of Painswick, Glos. and of all consequent fines, amercements, and suits due to the King,"—Glover was delivered into his custody for treason and felony by Maurice Berkeley, Sheriff of the County.

[2] *Thomas de Berkeley* 1352-3 m. Nov. 1357, aged 15, Margaret d. and sole heir of Warin de Lisle, Lord Lisle. She d. 20 Mar. 1391-2 and was buried at Wotton-u-Edge. He d. 1417, bur. also there.

[3] She is buried at *Kingswood.*

[4] Son and heir of *Sir James de Berkeley, by Elizabeth,* d. and h. of *Sir John Bluet, of Raglan ;* born (c) 1391).

daughters, the eldest of whom was Margaret, the wife of John Talbot (then Lord Talbot and Furnival), the family quarrel broke out afresh.

In 1440, a process-server of John Lord Lisle, David Woodburne,[1] of Painswick, being sent over to Wotton to serve a subpœna on Lord Berkeley, the latter (imitating Bernabo Visconti at Milan) forced the unfortunate man to swallow the summons, seals, and all. Litigation and bloodshed naturally followed. In 1445, when Shrewsbury was in England, things were looking black and frequent skirmishes took place. In 1448 a Committee of Arbitrators sat upon the case at Cirencester, but the award framed by them was ignored by Lord Berkeley. In the same year when Lady Shrewsbury was residing, not at Painswick, but at the Manor House of Wotton, Lord Berkeley attacked and looted that house. Whereupon (1452), her son John, Viscount Lisle, took Berkeley Castle by a night-surprise and kept Lord Berkeley and his four sons prisoners for nearly three months at Bristol. The Earl of Shrewsbury by this time was again gone to the wars in France. In 1452 a Court of Inquiry was held at Gloucester, at which Lady Shrewsbury[2] and Isabel Mowbray,[3] Lady Berkeley, attended. The latter was there entrapped into Gloucester Castle and kept prisoner by her rival. Within a few days she died (Sept. 29) and was buried in the Chancel of the Grey Friars Church there. In the next year the great Shrewsbury himself, and John Talbot, Viscount Lisle, father and son, both fell in the fight at Chastillon, and James Lord Berkeley presently married Joan,[4] a daughter of the Earl by his first wife.[5] In 1467, Lady Shrewsbury died, leaving her property and several of her disputed manors,

[1] In the last Chapter we have noticed a Walter Woodburne (gent.), of Painswick, fined at Westminster for not having duly appeared to a summons touching a plea of debt (p. 373, Catal : Pat : Rolls, anno. 5, Hen : VI.), 1427. Cf. Smyth's 'Lives of the Berkeleys,' and Trans : Br : & Glos : Arch : Soc : 111-305. In an Expenses Roll of April, 1430, this other, (or David) Woodburne appears as being paid 6d. for working in the Steward's kitchen ; '*facto David Wodburn laborantem in coquina.*'

[2] 1461, July 6th. Westminster.

Grant to Margt. Countess of Shrewsbury, of the custody, during his minority, of Thomas, son and heir of John, Viscount Lisle, and of all his lands, and so from heir to heir, and also the 20 marks yearly which Henry VI. granted to the said Viscount and to the heirs male of his body on his creation as Viscount, 1443, from the issues of the County of Salop. By Privy Seal. (From Calend : Pat : Rolls). Cf. Hist : of Cirencester, pp. 204-5, 1924.

[3] *Eldest daug. of Thomas de Mowbray*, D. of Norfolk, by *Elizabeth Fitz Alan*, d. of Earl of Arundel.

[4] July 25, 1457. He died at *Berkeley* Nov. 1463, after having executed a deed of reconciliation with the *Countess of Shrewsbury*.

[5] Maud d. of *Thomas Nevill*, Lord Furnival.

including Wotton and Coaley, to her grandson, Thomas Talbot,[1] Viscount Lisle. Lord Berkeley having died also had been succeeded in his estates, and in the family quarrel over the manors of Wotton, Coaley and Symonds Hall, by William, twelfth Lord Berkeley (d. 1491), his son.

Thomas, Lord Lisle, had married in 1467 Margaret, daughter of William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke, and now took up his residence at Wotton House. It may be that Painswick, save for its hunting, had been less frequented as a favorite residence by reason of the claim of the Berkeleys to Wotton Manor, and that the Talbots had gone thither into residence by the old Countess's design in order to be face to face with the heir-general of Berkeley and to out-manœuvre him. In fact, Lord Lisle, soon setting on foot a plot by means of Mr Robert Veale to seize Berkeley, gained over to his scheme Thomas Holt, the Keeper of the Castle, and the Porter, Maurice King. King, however, disclosed the whole matter to his own master at the last moment, and Holt fled to Wotton to acquaint Lord Lisle of the treachery. The latter was so enraged that he now indited the (to him) fatal letter, dated March 20th, 1469, challenging Lord Berkeley to come out of Berkeley[2] and fight.

The result is well known: this rash young Lord of Painswick and Wotton under-estimated the forces at the disposal of his foe who forthwith came out a thousand strong to perform precisely what Lord Lisle had defied him to do, " to beat the Manor of Wotton about his head" and posted himself over-night at Michaelwood next Nibley Green. Next morning, Lord Lisle and his men moved toward the then extensive green. Upon their approach, the Berkeley foemen, assisted by a force from Thornbury under Maurice Berkeley posted at a place called Fowleshard,[3] met them with a deadly discharge of arms. Lord Lisle was shot by one ' Black Will,' of the Forest of Dene, and finished off with a dagger-stroke. The leader slain,[4] his followers, some of them, fled uphill toward Nibley Church, their triumphant foes pursuing them at the spear-point until Lord Berkeley reached Wotton, which he pillaged over Lady Lisle's head " as a place taken in lawful war."

[1] 1467, Oct. } Entries prove Thomas Talbot, Visc: Lisle, still a minor.
1468, Nov. 5 }
1469, July 14. Westminster.
License for Thomas, Viscount Lisle, to enter freely into all Castles, Lordships, Manors, &c., of which John Talbot, Knight, Vis: Lisle, his father, and Joan, his wife, and Margaret, late Countess of Shrewsbury, his grandmother, or any other ancestor of his were seized, and which should descend to him. [By Privy Seal].

[2] In his letter he twits Lord Berkeley with having falsely blown it about that he (Talbot) had had in Welshmen to do his business for him.

[3] Foley's Grove. Cf. Vol. II., Trans: Br. & Gl. Arch, Soc., pp. 304-324.

[4] James Hiatt, a Constable of St. Briavels, seems to have taken a leading part in the fray.

The unfortunate Lady[1] gave birth to a dead child sixteen days afterwards. She, however, married Sir Henry Bodrugan,[2] of Cornwall, but a little later. Having brought an appeal against Lord Berkeley for the death of her husband, she then procured a Parliamentary enactment settling (1472) her personal claims in return for a payment of £100 p.a.; Lord Berkeley to keep the disputed manors, but without prejudice to the rights of their respective heirs. The sister of Lord Lisle, Elizabeth,[3] who now became his heir, had married Sir Edward Grey, an uncle of Lord Berkeley, who presently set up their claims against the latter,—Sir Edward becoming Viscount Lisle in right of his wife. The famous Law-suit resulting from this struggle was not finally settled until 1609.

Probably from this time Painswick Lodge became added-to and continuously inhabited by Lisles or their kinsfolk, in order to serve, as henceforward it did, for the manor House recently dismantled at Castle Hale. A son, John, was born to them in 1479, and a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom later.

[1] 1471, Nov. 4. Grant for life to Margaret, late the wife of Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle, of the Lordship and Manor of Painswick, Co. Glos., to hold in dower with knights' fees, advowsons, Courts-leet, views of Frank Pledge, and other liberties.—(Calendar of Pat. Rolls).

[2] Cf. Append: to IVth Report Hist: MSS. Commission, p. 176: 8 Deeds: being receipts by *Edward*, Visc. *Lisle*, Sir *H. Bodrugan*, and Viscountess *Lisle*, for Rents, etc., paid to them.

Letter from the said Viscount to his *Parker at Payneswicke*: 2 Rich. III and 1 Hen. VII. *Bodrugan* became attainted later and died in France: 1503.

[3] 1470. April 6.

License for Elizabeth and Mary Talbot, sisters and heiresses of Thomas, late Viscount Lisle, to enter freely into all Castles, Lordships, Manors, Lands, Rents, Reversions, &c., in England, Wales, the Marches of Wales, and Ireland—which should descend to them by the death of the said Thomas, their brother, their father, and the late Viscount Lisle, and Joan, his wife (and the), late Countess of Shrewsbury, their grandmother, and Richard, Earl of Warwick, her father, and Elizabeth, his wife, or any of them. [By word of mouth]. 1471, Nov. 4. Westminster.

Grant for life to Margaret, late the wife of Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle, of the Lordship and Manor of Paneswyk, C°. Glouc: and the Manors of Norton-Beauchamp, and Lympysham, with their members in the C^os. Somerset and Dorset, parcel of the Manors and lands of the said Viscount, to hold in dower with Knight's Fees, Advowsons, Courts-Leet, Views of Frank Pledge, and other Liberties. [By Privy Seal].

Elizabeth, sister of Thomas, late Viscount Lisle, married Edward Grey, son of Elizabeth Grey, Lady de Ferrers of Groby (living a. 38 Hen: VI.). He, thereupon, was made Baron Lisle, and (a. 1 Rich: 3) Viscount Lisle, and enjoyed with her, as Elizabeth, Lady Lisle, the Manors and Lordships to which she was entitled as sister and heiress of Thomas, late Viscount Lisle. Edward, Viscount Lisle, died July 17, a. 7, Hen: VII. (= 1490) seized in his demesne as of Frank Ten^t. after the death of Elizabeth his wife, as tenant by courtesy of the above-mentioned Manors and Lands. John Grey, their son and heir, was then aged 11 years and more, and became Viscount Lisle. d. 1504.

[Cf. Cal. Inquisit: Hen.: VII. Writ dated 19 July a. 7, Hen: VII. Inquis: 6 Oct. a. 8, Hen: VII.]

In 1471 (May 4), had taken place the Battle of Tewkesbury. We do not actually hear of Painswick in connection with operations, though it is understood that King Edward led his army along the old escarpment-track hard-by it in order to watch, overtake, and bring to bay Queen Margaret, who, then making for Gloucester, marched along the valley of the Severn. From near Cainscross, he may have ascended Pakenhill and Randwick to the Rudge, and striking the Edge at Horsepools, may have continued his march along it past Kimsbury, whence he probably obtained direct observation of the Queen's army proceeding northward in the vale below him. If such was the case, Edward passed at least in sight of Painswick. Leaving the hills he ultimately reached Cheltenham, as his itinerary declares, and hurried across by Tredington to Tewkesbury.

In spite of the Wars of the Roses Painswick would seem to have prospered, and it may be presumed that the beneficial changes there effected by the former Earl of Shrewsbury were found to work well. Great families had been decimated: but trade flourished in the Cotteswolds.

In 1486 (2 Hen. VII.), Oct. 25, among the free-tenants here are mentioned Thomas a'Bridge of Cubberley (*Armiger*), Thomas a'Bridge of Dymoke, and John Waxman. The two former recall the Bridges well-to-do members of the same family who we saw were acting as stewards to Lord Shrewsbury forty years before. *John Ireland*[1] is the village butcher, Thomas Pytte is tithingman of Edge, to be succeeded by Thomas Tykell. Thomas Blysse owns a mill, to-day Salmonds.

The Jurors of the Court are Thomas Hall, John Frampton, Rich: Dennyford, Nicholas More, John Pecke, Robert Mill, Rich: Adeane, John a' Chamber, James Mill, Richard Tickell, John Frethe, Rob: Mariett.

One, Walter Collins (of Holcombe) proceeds against Richard Pole, Nicholas More, and Robert Myll, for debts owing to him. He presently founded the Chantry of S. Mary; now the easternmost chancel.

Richard Gyde, and Elenor, his wife, surrender a house and farendel of land to the use of Robert Pytte. Henry Twinning has the mill below the Hale-grounds. Other familiar names are Henry Loveday, Will: Browne. At Shepscombe, Alice Pytte, Walter Mill, have mills, while John Davies is Vicar of Painswick and there stands a church-house, probably bordering the churchyard NE of it.

Toward Strode Edward Hammond has a mill, hence 'Hammonds.'

William Yvy, yeoman of Gloucester, John Lynkenold, yeoman, of the

[1] Ireland was a name borne by well-to-do families of pig-dealers in Bristol: and from these it spread perhaps by the drovers up this way. The name has remained on in Painswick, Cranham, and elsewhere, as far afield as Lechlade. Hence the *Kilkennys*: (PH).

same, and one John Tyler, came and attacked the house of Richard Rogers, jun., at Painswick, and drove away a red ox and a cow.

John Merriman occupies a dwelling called Sheephouse, which is needing repairs, and John Tickell has one called Paradise. John Waxman, who rented Damsels Orchard lying in Sponebedd tithing, and Cleyecroft (for a red rose) in Edge tithing, is dead, and his (half) brother, John Wolde, is admitted his successor. A property called Bordeland in Strode tithing, with rent of 15s. 11d. p.a., is in the tenure of Walter Seagrim. The Seagryms, we have already noticed, trace back hereabouts to the early years of Edward III. and probably to a much earlier period. The modern Ayers mill replaced Seagrims.

Near Blakewell was a field called Washaelfield,[1] toward the highway west leading to Gloucester.

Walter Collins and Robert Frethe are assessors.

In October, 1487, at Shepescombe :

John Fletcher is elected Tithing-man there in place of John Rogers.

Robert Frampton keeps a hostel, for which he pays license.

William Bridge dies leaving a property called Lyrevimes and another called Packers, in Sponebed.

Various men are fined for remaining outside the Manor beyond time allowed, or for going beyond it without license. Millers are frequently fined for levying excessive toll, for not keeping their hedges in order, as well as for encroachments and assaults.

William Blysse has his mill at Stroud-end and is fined for levying excessive toll. Thomas Freme is fined for assaulting Thomas Chambers.

Robert Myll, a new (?) Vicar, is fined 4d for not properly making the hedge belonging to the cottage (? Ludloes) he inhabits in Washwell. Thomas Frethe John Frampton and Thomas Freme are fined for not keeping in order a lane by Grenhousgrene leading to Duddescombe (Dutchcombe). The wood-sale in the manor this year was valued at 40s. and 4d. John Harmer, deceased, held a parcel of land called ' Paradise, at a rent of 12d. p.a. among other lands. His heir is Thomas Harmer aged 40 years and more.

The actual status of manor-tenants will be more fully seen from the following rental of Henry VII., A. 12 (1496)[2] made by Thomas Gybbes (No. 5) the Reeve, and others. To this have been added in poor ink names of later tenants in a. 8. Elizabeth (1565–6).

[1] Wash, as in ' The Wash,' ' Washwell,' ' Washbrook,'=OE, *Gewæsc*: overflow : washing (for sheep).

[2] Aug. 22, 1496 ; Aug. 21, 1495.

STROUD (Strode Tithing).

1.—Thomas Halle holds one messuage called Worgans, and two other messuages Blakmonny's and Lovecots, with 15 acres adjacent, rendering (to be paid every four years at the terms usual there) 8s. The same Thomas Hall has a burgage in Payneswick with a parcel of land of a colbert (*i.e.* tenant in socage) at 12d. p.a.

2.—William Browne has one messuage and half a virgate called Gerardys, at 12s. 2d.

3.—Thomas Freme has one mess : ½ virg : called Combeys, 14s. 1½d., and 1 mess : and farendel called Yalears, 4s.

4.—Agnes Mynsterworth has one mess : and 1 far : called Facches, 4s

5.—Thomas Gybbes, one mess : 1 virg : called Bovenells, 22s.

6.—Rich : Tickell. [Agnes Clyssold 1566.]

one mess : 1 virg : called Wadys —38s. 5½d.
one mess : 1 virg : called Sawnders —

7.—John Browne ; one mess : ½ virg : called Brownys, 11s. 9d.

8.—Thomas Ffeyre ; one mess : 1 virg ; called Blysses, 24s. 3d.

9.—Will : Blysse ; one mess : ½ virg : and mill called Blysses, otherwise Salmonys, at 18s.

10.—John Pyncote.

one mess : 1 virg : called Jagges —33s. 6½d.
one mess : ½ virg : called Hamonds —
one mess : 10 acres lying in Blakmonnys, 3s. 1d. called Trompers.

11.—William Medeley. [Tho. Clissold, 1566.]

one mess : ½ virg : called Blysses —37s. 3d.

12.— two mess : two ½ virg : ,, —

13.—Edward Hamonde, one mess : 1 virg : called Hamondes, 24s. 3d. [Agnes Hamonde. 1566].

14.—Thomas Browne, one mess : ½ virg : called Brownes, 12s. 9d.

15.—Thomas Hamonde, one mess : ½ virg : 13 acres demesne-land, 9s., [Agnes Hamonde. 1566]

16.—Eleonora Pytte, two mess : ½ virg : called respectively Gydes and Pyttes, 24s. 6d. [Will : Gardener. 1566].

17.—Robert Stevens, one mess : ½ virg : called Kuddehouse, 12s. [John Tayler. 1566.]

18.—Richard Pyncote, one mess : ½ virg : called Brownys, 12s. 7d. [John Pyncote. 1566.]

19.—Richard Wynneforde, one mess : ½ virg : called Stevyns, 12s. 5d.

20.—Thomas Blysse, one mess : ½ virg : and 1 farendel, called Blysses, 25s. 4d. [John Blysse. 1566.]

21.—Richard Adeane, one mess : ½ virg : called Crompelyns, 12s. 5d. [Tho. Gardner. 1566.]

22.—Thomas Tayler, one mess : and a mill (water) with 2½ virgates and a farendel, at 39s. 8d. [John Tayler. 1566.]

23.—John Colyns holds one mess : and 1 farendel called Colyns at 5s. 4d.

24.—Johanna Tonneley holds one mess : and 1 farendel called Wynarks, at 7s. [Rich. Hill. 1566.]

25.—Simon Colyns holds 5 acres of demesne land lying in Duddescombe at 14d.

Sum Total - - - - - £21 9s. 11½d.

EGGE (Edge Tithing).

26.—Richard Gyde holds one mess : ½ virg : and 1 farendel, and 1 burgage called Gydes, at 19s. 6d. [John Gyde. 1566].

27.—William Mynsterworth, one mess : ½ virg : called Arnegrovys, at 13s. 5½ d. [Elizabeth Cooke : widow. 1566.]

28.—Thomas Skenerell holds two mess : 2 far : and other demesne lands called Skenerellys, at 16s. 5d. [John Adeane. 1566].

29.—Richard Quedisley two mess : and two half-virg : respectively Quedisleys and Taylers, 21s. 7½d.

30.—Joan Tonneley, two mess : two half-virg : called Tonneleys, 26s. [Isabel Whytin : widow. 1566.]

31.—Joan Mason, one mess : and 1 virg : called Baldewynnys, 23s. 7d. [Wm. Tonneley. 1566.]

32.—Walter Wynneforde, one mess : ½ virg : with a meadow called Skenerellis, 15s. 11d. [Alice Brete : widow. 1566.]

33.—Walter Segrym, one mess : ½ virg : called Skenerellis, 15s. 11d. [Isabel Whytin : widow. 1566.]

Walter Segrym, one mess : ½ virg : called Mawnefeldes, (*ie* Mandevilles), at 10s. [Isabel Whytin. 1566.]

34.—John Bowrey holds two acres in Ifold demesne land, 12d.

35.—John Colyns holds two mess : and two ½ virg : called Colyns, 22s. 8d. [Eliz : Colyns. 1566.]

36.—Nicholas Wheler holds two mess : two ½ virg : called Holcotes, and a cottage and 9 acres, 40s. 5d.

37.—John Tykell, one mess : ½ virg : called Tykellys, also a parcel of demesne land in Ifold, and a cottage with appurtenances called Paradys (Paradise 2), 19s. 11d. [Isabel Poole, p. l, b. 1566.]

38.—Agnes Mylle holds one mess : and one ½ virg : called Kyngs, and a mill (water) called Kyngesmill, and 1 burgage in Payneswike, also 1 mess : and 1 farendel called Twynyngs. [John Kynge, and Jo: Osborne. 1566.]

Robert Mylle, husband of Agnes, holds one mess : ½ virg : called Walkers. The same Robert Mylle holds a cottage in Painswick called Todars, and 1 acre demesne lands, £3 7s for all these.

39.—Walter Coke has one mess : 1 virg : called Cokes, with a parcel of demesne lands, 24s. 8d.

40.—John Peck holds two mess : 2 farendels, called Goodhouse and Dodds, also a burgage in Painswick called Colyns, and one acre of demesne lands, 18s. 8d. [Elinor Piper, and Wm. Canton. 1566.]

41.—John of the Chambere has three cottages and certain demesne lands lately in tenure of Walter Colyns, 5s., also site of the Manor therewith an apple orchard. 6s. 8d. [Thomas Chambre, and Giles Gardener. 1566.]

42.—Thomas Smyth has one burgage, 2 cottages, 1 farendel, called respectively Goffes and Pyllehouse, 9s. 9d. [Margaret Tayler, 1566.]

43.—Richard Churchey has two cottages and two parcels of demesne lands of which one is called Belesones and the other Churcheys, 6s. [Alice Meyer. p. l. b. 1566. By free bench]

44.—Nicholas Wheler holds one mess : ½ virg : called Colettys. [See No. 36.] [Elizabeth Wantner. 1566.]

45.—William Bydfelde holds one burgage, 2 cottages, called Mylles and Halles, 1 acre of demesne land at 5s. [Rich. Canton. 1566.]

46.—Richard Adeane holds one burgage, 2 acres and a garden called Denys, at 2s. 10d. [Thos. Gardner. 1566.]

47.—Florentia, wife of the late Thomas Bridge (Armiger), holds two burgages and 1 cottage, at 2s. 6d. [Elizabeth Wantner, p. l. b. 1566.]

48.—John Gardner, one burgage called Harmers, and another called Paynes, and 3 cottages at 6s. 10d.

49.—William Lacye, one burgage called Tynkers, at 8d. [Arthur Pounde. 1566.]

50.—John Frethe, three burgages and 1 lundinate, called Westroffes, and Clottes, at 8s.

51.—Katerina Hogges, one burgage, lately in tenure of John Westroffe, at 10d.

The Feoffees of the Service[1] of Our Lady hold one burgage, and 12 acres, and one messuage, and a farendel of land. Also two cottages and a garden called Lychefields and Denys, and one cottage with lundinarii, and other appurtenances, and a cottage lately held by Rich : Hyk, 1 acre, called Lyons, and 1 bit of ground, called Parkehale, and a garden next to the pynfolde there, 21s. 6½d.

52.—Thomas Heynes, one burgage, lately in the tenure of Alice Geoffreys, 10d.

53.—Thomas Tayler, two burgages 1 acre in Ifolde, called Wynnefords, 2s. 6d. [Thomas Arthur. 1566.]

54.—Rich : Feyrthyngale, two burgages, 4 cott : and 1 farendel below Longridge, 21s. ½.

55.—Will : Tykell, one cott : lately held by Simon Tykell, 8d.

56.—Will : Zelam, one cott : lately held by John Tayler, 8d.

57.—Eleonor Feyre, one burg : called Feyres, 1 parcel of demesne land, 4s. 9d.

58.—Rich : Tykell, one cott : and close, 2 acres of demesne in Duddescombe, 3s. 2d. [Rich. Deane. 1566.]

59.—Margaret, w. of Robert Cheney, Knt., 1 cott : called Smallridge 8d. [M Corbet. 1566.]

60.—Hen : Pytte, alias dictus Smyth, one cott : 3 acres demesne land, 3s. 4d.

61.—Maurice Edwards, one burg : and 1 solidam, lately held by Rich : Halle, at 23s.½d., and 1 farendel next the Cross called Sentres[2] Crosse, at 5s. 10d.

62.—Thomas Tykell, one mess : 1 Monday land in Payneswyk, 3s.

63.—Thomas Pytte holds one mess : and 1 virgate, called The Castle,[3] and 2 lundinates, at 23s. 11d.

64.—Thomas Mylle, 4 acres of Demesne land and others, 3s. 6d. [Tho. Meyer. 1566.]

65.—Joan Twynnynge, one mess : 1 mill, called Twynnynges, 19s. 6d. (*later Juliana Twynnings*. 1556.)

66.—John Twynnynge, one cottage, called Ludlowes,[4] and 1 acre, near Duddesknappe, 8d. (*ie* in Duddescombe). [Thos. Duck. 1566.]

[1] Chantry-lands. [2] In Friday Street, i.e. *Saddlers*. [3] Castle Hale.

[4] Now (possibly) the Vicarage, otherwise called 'Verlands' since 1890). Here lived almost all the Vicars from Mary's reign onwards. i.e. *Vuer : far :* Glos. Dial. Cf. Vayrocke—rugge=(14th c.) far—oak-ridge. Lord Gifford is now (1920) the owner, and lives here.

67.—Nicholas More, one mess: 1 water-mill, 2 cott: and various parcels of demesne land, 32s. 4d. [Henry Bearde. 1566.]

Sum Total - - - - £28 0s. 12d.

SPONEBED (Tithing).

68.—John Frampton, one mess: 1 lundinate, called Packers, 1 close and a garden lying near the boundary of the Manor there, and 1 burg: and 3 cott: 8s. 1d. A garden also, lately occupied by Alice Halle, 16d. [Thomas Gardner. 1566.]

69.—Elizabeth Scotte, one burgage, ¼ acre, and a parcel of meadow, 3s.

70.—Nicholas Combe, two cottages with curtilage, 1 acre demesne land, 3s. 11½d.

71.—Will: Gardner, one cottage and curtilage, 17d. [Wm. Purslowe. 1566.]

72.—Thomas Pytte, one mess: 1 burg: and 1 farendel, and certain parcels of demesne lands, at 13s. 4d.

73.—Thomas Frethe, one mess: and a farendel of land, 7s.

74.—John Horewood, one mess: 1 cottage and parcel of land called Byggs, 9s. 10½d.

75.—William Purslow, one burg: and parcel of land, 10s. 10d.

76.—William Smyth, one cott; and parcel of land, 12½d. [Jo. Candisley. 1566].

77.—John Pecke, two burg: lately of William Pecke, and other lands, 13s. 6d. [Nic. Canton. 1566.]

Also one croft, called Bondecroft, 2s.

78.—William Lacy, one burg: 2 acres called Shermannys, 22d.

79.—Walter Wyndow, one mess: 1 virgate, called Wyndowes, 24s. 6d. Johanne Mylle.

80.—Richard Meryotte, two mess: 2 half-virgates, 24s. 4d. [Walter Watkyns. 1566.]

81.—John Gybbes, one mess: ½ virgate, and 1 virgate, 34s.

82.—John Vine, one mess: and ½ virgate, and a farendel, 29s. 4d. [Thomas Hamende. 1566.]

83.—Walter Clotte, one mess: ½ virgate, and an acre of demesne land, 13s. 9d. [Ric. Court. 1566.]

84.—John Mille, one mess: ½ virgate, called Bondys, 13s. 5d.

85.—Cecilia Cole, one mess: 1 farendel, called Brownys, 4s.

86.—Robert Frethe, one mess: 1 mill (water), 1 virgate, 40s. 7½d. [John Oliver. 1566.]

87.—Agnes, wife of John Pytte, one mess: ½ virg: called Cowleys, 11s. 5d.

88.—John Merymon, one mess: ½ virg: 11s. 11d. [Tho. Limbrick. 1566.]

89.—Edward Ralegh (knight), one parcel of land in Edgworthe, 12d. (Cf. Chapter VII.)[1]

90.—William Coke (junior), of Gloucester, one burgage in the town of Gloucester, called Smythstrete, 9d.

91.—Thomas Bridge, three cottages, and various parcels of land and a meadow there, and appurtenances, at 14s. 10d. [Eliz. Wantner, p.l.b. 1566.]

92.—John Mason, one cottage, called Yongs, at 2d. p.a.

Sum Total - - - - £14 18s. 11½d.

SHEPESCOMBE (Tithing).

93.—Thomas Bassette, one messuage, 2 farendels, called Crouches 13s. 10½d.

and another messuage, and ½ virgate, called Martynes, 10s. 2d.

94.—James Mylle, one parcel of land, called Chesislande, 2s. [John, Mylle. 1566.]

95.—Elizabeth Mylle, one parcel of land called Mylleslande, 5s.

96.—Richard Colyns, one messuage, 1 lundinate, and 1 cottage, 3s. 3d.

97.—Robert Fletcher, one messuage, 1 farendel, called Powke Pytte, and 1 parcel of land, 7s. 4d. [Robert Whyting. 1566].

98.—Simon Hardyng, one cottage, 20d. [Tho. Poore. 1566.]

99.—Thomas Pole (or Poole), one mess: and ½ a virgate, and 1 acre, 12s. 5d. [Joan Pole. 1566.]

100.—John Pole, one mess: and ½ a virgate, and 1 lundinate, 15s. 5½d.

101.—Richard Mylle, one mess: 1 water-mill, ½ virgate, 24s. 5d. [Tho. Lovedaye. 1566.]

and one solidam in Payneswyk, lately Rich: Scotte's, 6d.

102.—Richard Wynneforde, two mess: 2 farendels, called Brokehouse and Coppehouse, and another messuage, called Greenhouse, and 1 cottage called Dynnings, and other parcels of ground, 31s. 7d. [Walter Weste. 1566.]

103.—Richard Adeane, one mess: 1 farendel, called Grenehouse, 8s. ½d. [John Gardner. 1566.]

[1] Successor by direct inheritance to the De Heliun manor there.

104.—John Westroffe, one mess : ½ virg : 1 farendel, called Wethers, 29s. 1½d.

105.—Rich : Adeane, one mess : 1 farendel, called Meys, 8s. 9d½.

106.—John Awbrey, two acres in Washwell, 15d.

107.—William Adeane for lands which he holds, 8d.

Sum Total - - - - £8 8s. 2d.½

THE QUARRIES THERE.

William Mynsterworthe, 12d. for Arnegroves quarr. [Eliz. Cooke, p. l. b. 1566].

Prior and Convent of Blessed Mary of Llanthony for the New Quarr., 12d. (*ie :* the Nodes beside the present Gloucester Road in the Woodland.)

John Harvarde and Thomas Tayler, the Friar's Quarry, 2s.

Thomas Tayler holds Battcombe Quarr', 12d. p.a.

INNS (*Hospicia*).

John Broke, 12d.

William Paynter, 12d.

Richard Wether, son of a villein for Cheminage (*ie* road-keeping), 8d.

William Wether, son of Richard Wether, for assistance, 4d.

The following are those who carry venison for the Lord for an entire year, when required :—

	d.		d.
Richard Queddesley	8	Richard Wynneforde	8
Robert Myll	16	Thomas Bassett, for 2 tenements	16
Maurice Edwards	8	John Fletcher	8
Agnes Mynsterworthe ..	8	Richard Adeane	8
Nicholas More	8	Thomas Freme	8
Feoffees of Blessed Mary .. [Walter Weste. 1566]	8	Item the farmer for Rabbits per annum	12s. 4

DAMSELLS.

108.—John Pekke, one parcel, called Alinscroft, 2s.

109.—Edward Halle, one messuage and 1 virgate, 10s.

110.—Richard Colyns, of Shepscombe, one mess : 1 farendel, 8s.

111.—William Tykell, who holds Le Rycrofte and 1 pasture, Wydcombe, 13s. 4d. (*Paradise*).

112.—Richard Farthingale for the Dudmede, otherwise Litelmere, also called Lyndecroft, 9s.

113.—William Brugge for Dynneles and Pyghouse, 2s.

114.—William Lacye for Collecroft, 4s.

115.—Nicholas More, one pasture, called Damsellismore, 8s.

116.—Richard Churchey, one field, called Hasellande, 12s. 4d.

117.—Elizabeth Mylle, one field, called Dodmedowe, 12s. [Rob. Poole, 1566.]

118.—Nicholas Wolde, one orchard, 3s., and for Cleycrofte, 1 red rose. [Walter Weste. 1566.]

119.—William Tycle, one croft, called Hallecroft, 4s. [John Mylle. 1566.]

120.—Thomas Bridge, for the Hallehouse at Damsells, 4s.

Sum Total - - - - £4 13s. 8d.

THE LORD'S MEADOWS.

Wodham-mede, 20s. [At Paradise : perhaps where the new Paradise-seed, or corn, may have first been planted in the manor.]

Brodemede, 2s.

Bangrove forwarde, 12d. [Edw. Canton. 1566.]

William Selam for a water-course, 4d. [Tho. Wye, *Armiger*. 1566.]

Richard Churchey for —, 4d. [Edm. Warner. 1566.]

Robert Bygg, 4d. [Antony Watts. 1566.]

The Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, for water consumed within the parish of Standish, 2s. [Thos. Gardener de Pychcombe. 1566.]

The said Abbot owns one messuage and 1 carucate (ploughland) of land at Ebbworth[1] at 2s. per annum. [John Mylle its farmer. 1566.]

This deed gives us, besides a faithful picture of the distribution of the Manor and its demesne lands, with the names of the copy-holders, and their fields, direct evidence of the drastic improvements effected by the working of the Earl of Shrewsbury's reforms. The Manor is seen also to be yielding more than treble the value it rendered fifty years before. Whereas, at the Earl's decease (*ie* A.D. 1453), it was reckoned to be worth twenty pounds, in 1495 it was worth seventy. Damsells, itself brings in £4 13s. 8d. with its Hall, used as a Dower-house. The entire Manor has undergone revolution and

[1] This was the sub-infeudated fief of Walter de Bayeux given to him by Cecilia, dau. of Pain FitzJohn. For it the Abbots as owners undertook all the strict Feudal Aids of a military fief or Manor, to the overlords of Painswick; and as the Manor of Ebbworth that estate was known consequently for many centuries.

expansion. The town has a new spirit of prosperity. The Prior and Convent of Llantony at this time, we learn from another source, rented Le New Quarr[1] at an increased rent from John Grey, Viscount Lisle, the young lord of the manor (born 1479), and there can be no doubt that the present large church and tower had then taken more than the site of a smaller predecessor, to which the Norman and early-English fragments with chevron-mouldings and a crucifix of brass, found under the floor of the nave, and seen by Mr Chew and others in 1883, must have belonged. The Vicar, during the re-building was Robert Myll. The present eastern chapel was built in honour of the Virgin and endowed at the expense of Walter Collins, who died 1493-4 (cf. the Church of St. Mary at Painswick, p. 28), and whose lands are mentioned above, under No. 41.

The possessions of Llantony, with lands and Combe-house in Hamm, and those of Flanesford Priory, with Segrim's mill (and around it) are not mentioned, howbeit, those of St. Peter's, Gloucester, occur. Both of the former convents' possessions were under the direct patronage of the Lord, but upon a very different footing to those of the latter; although, as we have shewn St. Peters (Glos.) sometimes agreed to lease its Painswick properties to the younger convent, near Gloucester.

[1] The Prior of Lantony's Quarry, including the Great and the Little Node, is represented by the lower woodland beside the present Gloucester road W. after the gate to the Orphanage. The road itself and the adjacent upper portion of the modern Park lay in the Nodes.

CHAPTER IX.

A CUSTUMAL OR THE CUSTOMS OF THE MANOR, *TEMP:* HENRY VII., c. 1490.

IT is of interest to adduce at this point the Customs of the Manor belonging to Henry VII.'s reign, and, therefore, entirely contemporaneous with the tenants above-named. Offered to a friend of the writer as a 17th cent. document relating to Painswick, with one or two only less interesting ones, he recognised it to date at least two centuries earlier albeit countersigned with 17th cent. writing. Its date can be no later than 1500, and probably it antedates this by some years.

PAYNESWICK.

IN COM: GLOUC:

THE CUSTOMS OF THE SAID MANOR.

1.—In Primis the tenantry of the said Manor holdyth their messuages, lands and tenements by copy of Court Roll. Both 'sibi' and 'suis,' whereby they have estate of Inherytance, to them and theirs after the custom of the said manor there.

2.—The tenants customarie there, tyme out of mind, have used to pay their rent yearly at 4 terms, usual and accustomed, and shall have a Reeve for to gather the same, after the custom and manner, and to pay the same yearly to the Lord. (The four terms were Annunciation, Nativity of St John Baptist, St Michael, and Birth of Our Lord).

3.—Item: That one of the customary tenants ought to be Reeve to collect and gather the rents of the said Manor and to pay the same where the Lord shall appoint him by his precept, and the same Reeve to be elected and chosen yearly by the Homage there, for, if the [said] Reeve by them so chosen do

chance to embezzle the said rent, that, then the said tenants are bound by their custom to answer the Lord of the same rent.

4.—Item : The Reeve, upon his account, ought to have allowance of XXVIs. VIIId. for his pains taken in gathering of the said rent, which allowance hath been used time out of mind.

5.—Item :[1] There are certain lands called ' Mundays Lands,' and the tenants thereof, by the custom, are bound to watch and keep prisoners taken within the said manor one day and one night apiece, and to bring all such prisoners to the next Justice, or to the King's gaol, at their own cost or charge.

6.—Item :[2] There are certain other lands called ' Threttenes,' the tenants whereof, by the custom, are bound to carry venison for the Lord into such place or places as the Lord shall appoint, by the space of a day and a night apiece at their own charge, or else to stand to a yearly fine of VIIId. to the use of the Lord of the Manor.

[7 & 8 are one in Edit : 1660].

7.—Item : The tenants, by their custom time out mind used, may give or sell their customary lands at their will and pleasure, making surrenders of the same, and deliver the same surrender in the Lord's court, and giving the Lord a heriot, if it be heriotable, that is to say, for any yard or half-yard of land which the said tenant holdeth to give, or pay the best quick cattle, and in default of such cattle, the best household stuff.

8.—Item : The custom is and hath been time out of mind that, for any surrender made or any reversion of inheritance taken, the Lord to receive a fine at his will and pleasure of the thing so surrendered or taken by reversion.

9.—Item : If there be any forfeiture [made] in any of the tenements there, that then the Lord shall rate the fine at his will and pleasure.

[This is 9 in Edit : 1660]

10.—Item : At every surrender made in reversion no heriot is due until the death of him or her which made the surrender, nor none other advantage due to the Lord, but the fine only, &c.

[1] Left out of 1660 Edition of the Customs.

[2] In 1660 Edition, No. 6 is No. 5. In 1660 was printed the Customes of the Manor of P. decreed in Chancery in a. 11, James I., and established by Act of Parliament in a. 21 in 35 Items. In 1688 Thomas Loveday printed the Customs in 33 Items. Threttenes = thirteens.

[10—1660] 11.—Item : After the death of any tenant, the wife of the same tenant (if any such be) shall be admitted to her free-bench in the Lord's Court by the payment of a penny to have to her during her life, paying such rents customs and service thereof, due and accustomed.

[11—1660] 12.—Item : After the death of any such woman the same tenant or tenants which were in her tenure shall come and descend to the next heir on the part of the husband of the same woman, and for lack of an heir to the next kinsman or kinswoman of the same husband, if no surrender be made thereof before, after the said custom, without payment of any heriot for the woman which holdeth (held) by her free-bench, as afore is said.

[12—1660] 13.—Item : If any woman inheritrix die seized of any tenement or tenements and no surrender by her in her life-time made, that, then all such lands or tenements whereof she died seized shall come and descend to the next heir, after the custom and manner, paying a heriot for the same woman if it be heriotable and relief, &c. (sic).

[13—1660] 14.—Item : That all tenants, by their custom time out of mind used, may sell their woods, timber-trees and other fuel and brush growing in or upon their tenures without license of the Lord or his officers.

[14—1660] 15.—Item : If a woman, holding by her free-bench, do marry sundry husbands at several sundry times, yet shall she enjoy the same during her life without forfeiture thereof.

[15—1660] 16.—Item : By the Custom (that) every yard and half-yard land, holden by Copy after the custom and manner, is heriotable, and the heriot to be paid at the death of the tenant that dyeth seized thereof.

[5—1660] 17.—Item : That all land called Mundays, Threttens (thirteens), Farendels, burgages and curtilages be not heriotable.

[18—1660] 18.—Item : If a man have divers sons, and the eldest dyeth having issue of his body lawfully begotten, whether it be male or female, and after their grandfather dyeth the issue of eldest brother shall inherit as next heir to the grandfather.

19.—Item : If a man dyeth having divers daughters and no sons, and hath so many yards and half-yards of land as daughters, then shall every daughter, by the custom, have a

yard or half-yard, and like order is of tenants, but if the tenant, so dying, have but one yard, half-yard, or one tenant having divers daughters, as before is said, that then the same yard, half-yard, or tenement, by the homage and steward there, shall be praised to the best value, and the price thereof to be divided equally amongst the said daughters, saving the eldest daughter shall have her choice whether she will have the yard, half-yard, or tenement, or portion of money so (to her) allotted by the said homage and Steward, and if she take the said yard, half-yard, or tenement, then she to pay the money to her other sisters after the praised price.

[Not in 1660] 20.—Item : That no man or woman that is base born shall inherit any land or tenement within the said lordship except it be by means of surrender.

[Not in 1660] 21.—Item : That none other (of the) Lord's bondmen shall inherit any tenure within the said lordship.

[20 in 1660] 22.—Item : That after the death of every tenant that dyeth seized of his lands or tenements within the said lordship at the next Court there holden Proclamation shall openly be made to enquire who is (next) right heir of the tenant so deceased or who can make any claim or title to the same tenure or tenures ; and if at the first Court there come none to challenge the said tenure or tenures then there shall be Proclamation made (openly) at two other the next Courts there holden. In like manner as (it) is aforesaid, and (then) if there is none having right come to challenge the same, it shall be lawful for the Lord to lease (lett) the same tenure or tenures to whom he will, and the same to enjoy it ever, after the custom, except (thereby) that there be any having right by the same beyond the seas in the King's wars.

[21—1660] 23.—Item : That whosoever is to be admitted to any tenure within the said Lordship ought openly to be admitted in the Court before the Homage, and to have his copy read openly in the Court that all men there may hear and know that he is admitted tenant accordingly. And if any person having right to any tenure by inheritance he is to be admitted tenant, then he ought to be taken and presented by the Homage ; and if any challenge any tenure by surrender, that, then the surrender must be made either in the Court openly, or else be brought in into the Court by credible and sufficient witnesses,

that it may be known by the Homage, and so to be admitted tenant as it is aforesaid, according to the custom there used time out of mind.

[22—1660] 24.—Item : Whosoever taketh any tenure there of the Lord, he must take it either by means of inheritance of himself or his wife, or by surrender of some other that is an heir, or else by means of some forfeiture into the Lord's hands, and for lack of an heir to challenge any tenure, the Lord may let it to whom he will, and it must be expressed in the Copy of the Taker, whereby he takes his tenure by right of inheritance of himself or his wife, or by surrender of any person, or by forfeiture into the Lord's hands, or by the default of an heir to challenge it, otherwise no man can take any tenure there, nor the Lord can take it otherwise by custom there used time out of mind. (sic).

Certain acts which, being done by the tenant, are of themselves a forfeiture :

[25—1660] 1.—Item : If a tenant do give, or sell, any part, or parcel of his tenurements, or the whole, without surrender, it is a forfeiture.

[26—1660] 2.—If any tenant do let down his tenement, or part thereof, being peyned at ii. (two) Courts, to build the same by a certain payne, and the third Court on peyne of forfeiture, and doth not build the same according to the order in the Court taken by the homage and the steward, it is a forfeiture.

3.—If any tenant commit treason, murder, or felony, and is thereof by the laws of the realm convicted and attainted there, then it shall be lawful for the Lord to enter in upon his lands and tenement, goods and cattle, and them to have as a forfeit.

Item : If any being an inheritor to any lands or tenements do sell the same to any person or persons before he or she shall become tenant to the Lord in his Court, and do other suits and services according to the custom there, it is a forfeiture.

Item : If any tenant do detain or withhold any rents willingly which are due to the Lord, it is a forfeiture.

Item : If any tenant do convey any part of the Lordship to any other with intent to deceive the Lord of the same, it is a forfeiture.

(Countersigned in seventeenth century,
WILLIAM ROGERS de Payneswick.
p. Editt : 1668).

[*Castle Hale*]

CHAPTER X.

THE LISLES — SIR CHARLES BRANDON, — SIR JOHN DUDLEY — HENRY VIII. AT PAINSWICK — SIR ARTHUR PLANTAGENET — THOMAS CROMWELL — THE KINGSTONS.

UPON the tragical death of Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle, at Nibley Green, near Wotton-under-Edge, on March 20th 1469 the manor of Painswick had devolved, as we have seen, upon his sister Elizabeth wife of Sir Edward Grey, 2nd son of Lord Ferrers of Groby by Margaret wife of Sir George Vere.

Sir Edward Grey then became Viscount Lisle in right of his wife, and he remained Lord of Painswick, Moreton Valence, and Whaddon, until 1490 (17th July), when he died leaving, a son, John Grey, Viscount Lisle, aged eleven, and one daughter, Elizabeth. Their widowed mother survived to safeguard their property in this Park and Manor. During this last decade of the XVth century the Church of St Mary followed up its rebuilding,[1] by the addition of an eastern chapel of the Virgin. It is possible that the base of Sir William Kingston's tomb (as it became) in St Peter's chapel adjoining, may have belonged to the tomb of this John, Viscount Lisle, who died in 1504 (Sept. 9th), but more probably pertained to one of his immediate forebears, for its style and workmanship (saving the renewed canopy) indicate a rather earlier date, while the appropriation of a Lord of the Manor's tomb by the representatives of an upstart Protestant Lord under Henry VIII (1540), would not be so strange a happening as might seem ; the old chapel having passed to the Lord of the manor[2] with the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Thus, the appropriation of such a tomb became the Kingston token of possession. At any rate, the said tomb is of 15th century style, and belongs to one of the Viscounts Lisle, and its marble front became scorched away and ruined by the 1644 (or Civil War) fire, here.

John, Viscount Lisle, had married Meriel, daughter of Thomas Howard,[3] Earl of Surrey, by whom he left a daughter, Elizabeth, born 1504. The *Pat.*

[1] The Steeple was not added to the tower until 1632.

[2] Later Manor Courts have often been held herein.

[3] Aunt of Anne Boleyn through her sister Elizabeth m. to Sir Tho. Boleyn.

and Ct. Rolls, July 9, 1506, contain a peculiarly interesting entry. It is a Pardon granted to *Lord Thomas Howard* and *Edward Howard* and *Tho Bassett* (gent.) and *Oliver Pole* (Clerk) tenants of the *Manor of Pk.* lately belonging to *John Gray Vis. Lisle* (*deceased*) *of entering the Manor* (*to possess*) *without license.*

These Howards were *Thomas* (*made 3rd Duke of Norfolk*, 1514, d. 1553,) and *Edward K.G.* b. 1478 (Ld. High Adm[l.], 1512, his brother: both of them guardians of their sister and of her child *Elizabeth*; and the elder was father to *Surrey, the Poet.* According to Lady Knyvetts Will, she had 3 sons and 1 dau. (Knyvetts). Upon Lady Lisle her mother marrying Sir Thomas Knyvett[1] and then dying, Sir Charles Brandon[2] craftily obtained the wardship of the Lisle heiress of Painswick from her Howard relative, and, perhaps with honourable intention of a future marriage, procured his own elevation to the dignity of Viscount Lisle, May 15th, 1513. On the 29th Feb. 1512 of the previous year he held a View of Frank Pledge at Painswick, the local Jury being composed as follows :—

Robert Mills,	Nicholas More,
Rich : Deane,	John Loveday,
John King,	Thomas Pole,
John Pekke,	William Arnegrove,
Will : Wynfford,	Edmund Maunsel,
John Twynnying,	William ——.

At this Court it was ordered peremptorily that all tenants of the Manor shall make *omnes tenentes fuerint parati ad faciendum vias regias* highways at Englishhill in Sponebed tithing and Gillashill=in Edge tithing=(names of road-sections not quite identifiable to-day) s. pena xxd. for refusal. Elizabeth Mille is admitted at Shepiscombe to a messuage called Crouches, lately held by James Mylle. John Marwent is admitted a tenant, and holds a field called Morecotes, in the parish of Harescombe. John Loveday is chief miller in Shepscombe Tithing. Tho. Taillour and William Bliss are the

[1] Cal : Pat. and Close Rolls (May 23, 21 Hen. VIII. Part 1, 1509). The King to Thomas Knyvett of Bodenham Castle, Master of the Horse to Henry VIII.and Mereel, (she was a Norfolk *Howard*), his wife, ye Manor of Payneswyk, Gloucester, Ribbesford, in Worcester, and Bedworth, in Warwick. So that Sir Thomas Knyvett held his wife's portion in the Manor, in her right. He perished in the *Regent* in the battle at sea in 1512 against the French.

[2] Grandfather to be, of Lady Jane Grey. (Cf. Catal : Muniments of Berkeley Castle, p. 202). Appointment by *Sir Charles Brandon*, Knt., of *Maurice de Berkeley* to be Steward of his Manors of *Painswick, Moreton Valence, and Rangeworth*, Co. Glos., with grant of an annual payment of 4 marks from the said manors. 24 1. a. 4. Hen. VIII. (1513). *Catal. Muniments Berkeley C.*

Brandon became (unintentionally) the cause of Sir Tho. Knyvetts death at Sea, 10 Aug., 1512.

common millers at Strode-end tything. There is one unusual item. The Homage present that John West, a bondman of the Abbess of Syon (*ie* at Minchinhampton) has been admitted tenant of a house called *Cophouse*, lately Rich. Wynfords, and another lately held by Rich. Beke with 3 acres, next *Hillarinhyll* (*ie Ellarne-hill*). These are forthwith seized into the Lord's hands,—as forfeitures.

Sir Charles Brandon, in the following year (1514), proceeded to Paris on an Embassy, and there, obtaining the affections of the widowed Queen Mary Tudor, he became raised to the Dukedom of Suffolk in order suitably to become her husband. Accurately speaking, he was created Duke two days after his wedding, February 1st. 1514. It must be, we think, supposed that in order to have been created, as he was, Lord Lisle, Brandon must have previously contracted to marry his ward, but this contract must have been cancelled before he married Mary Tudor Nevertheless, he only surrendered his patent after the death of his ward (1519) on April 23rd, 1523.

That ward, Elizabeth Grey, Lady Lisle, of this Manor, presently wedded Henry Courtenay, Earl of Devon,[1] whom she predeceased without issue in (April) 1519.

But meantime, another Elizabeth Grey, namely, her aunt, the sister of John, Viscount Lisle (d. 1504), had become heiress of Painswick. This unfortunate lady had married, firstly, Edmund Dudley, a lawyer, who, later on was executed for forgery (together with Empson), in 1510, and by him she had become mother of John Dudley, afterwards Lord Lisle,[2] Earl of Warwick,[3] and Duke of Northumberland.[4] In 1511, Nov. 12th, she married, 2nd, Sir Arthur Plantagenet, natural son of Edward IV by Elizabeth Lucie, an admitted cousin of Hen. VIII. On the death, later, therefore, of Elizabeth, Countess of Devon, the King created him Viscount Lisle[5] in right of his wife, and he became lord of Painswick, a moiety passing however to her son, John Dudley.[6] This Elizabeth, Viscountess Lisle, died in 1526. In the year following Lord Lisle became sent to France as bearer of the Garter to Francis I. (Rapin 1, 773), and, in 1527, he married, secondly, Honor, daughter of Sir Thomas Grenville (and widow of Sir John Bassett), by whom he had three daughters.[7]

[1] He married, secondly, Gertrude, daughter of Wm., Lord Mountjoy, KG, but was attainted and beheaded in 1538.

[2] March 12th, 1542. [3] 1547. [4] 1551.

[5] 26th April 1523. Date of Summons.

[6] Dudley sold his reversion of Kingston Lisle manor to Wm. Hyde in1538. He himself became created Visc : Lisle, 12th March, 1542-3.

[7] Bridget, m. Sir William Carden, Kt., Francis, m. (1) Sir John Bassett, (2) Thomas Monke. Elizabeth, m. Sir Francis Jobson, Kt.

An Indenture, dated 22nd day of Nov. 1522 has been preserved, by which we learn that Painswick and other manors (*i.e.* Moreton Valence and Whaddon) were recovered by what was termed ' Writ of Entry in the Post ' against Sir Arthur Plantagenet[1] and Dame Elizabeth his (first) wife, to the use of Sir Arthur and any such wife as the said Sir Arthur should have after her decease. This shows us how he remained Lord of the Manor of Painswick, with power to alienate or sell in conjunction with Sir John Dudley.

In the 20th year of Henry VIII. (Sept. 22nd, 1532), we find Sir Arthur then Lord Lisle, giving and confirming certain land and an annuity of £2 3s. 4d to Thomas Blisse, of Painswick, for special services rendered to him, probably at Calais. It is likely that Lord Lisle drew upon his Gloucestershire properties for men to attend and follow him during his Governorship of that town a post of responsibility which presently proved burdensome to his income. But it brought him into close contact with the French Court, with Thomas Cromwell, Lord of the Privy Seal, and with Sir William Kingston, K.G. Governor of the Tower,[2] both of these men upstarts of the grasping order, dangerously bent upon accumulating other peoples' properties ; yet withal close favourites of the King. Both ingratiated themselves with Lord Lisle, and with his gay and sparkling second wife, with whom King Francis had not disdained to dance. To Cromwell he became indebted for help in a quarrel with Sir Edward Seymour over the possession of Porchester Castle, in July 1534. To Sir William Kingston, to whom Henry VIII had given Miserden, with other Gloucestershire estates and the wardenship of all the Hunts in this county, he became indebted in some other way early in the same year or before it, and had apparently leased (perhaps for sporting purposes), portions of Painswick Park. Anthony, son of Sir William Kingston, was at this time Steward of the Berkeley manor of Wotton-under-Edge ; the Berkeleys being out of Berkeley owing to its strange alienation to the Crown by the late William Ld. Berkeley for the price of a temporary marquisate. Presently, Lord Lisle, urged by an increasing load of debt, was obliged to make an

[1] In 1509, we find him an esquire of the Body Guard. In 1513, he escaped shipwreck on his way to Brittany. Next year, he became Captain in the Vice-Admiral's ship, called the ' Trinity Sovereign.' In 1519, he had livery of the lands of Elizabeth, Viscountess Lisle (Courtenay). He attended the King at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, was made K.G., and, in 1524, Keeper of Clarendon Park. Following this, he became nominated Vice High-Admiral. His wife Elizabeth, having died, he re-married in 1528. Foxe describes his attractive second wife, Honora, Lady Lisle, as ' incomparably evil.' We have evidence that she was very fond of Painswick,—her jointure.

[2] Sheriff of Gloucester, 1514. In 1522 he received a grant of much of the possessions in this county of the Duke of Buckingham, executed May 17, 1521. Later on he obtained Manors which had belonged to Flaxley Abbey and Llantony ; among the latter Haresfield Manor and Park. As Governor of the Tower he became gaoler to Anne Boleyn and also to Cromwell.

extensive wood-sale, namely, of 400 trees in the Park of Painswick. This displeased Sir William Kingston, who would thus appear at this time to have been living at Miserden, for he says in a nettlesome letter to Lord Lisle, " I never denied that your lordship might sell your own, and he that showed you so[1] lies falsely. I said to Smith, when he wanted me to buy it, that I loved it too well to destroy it, in so much that I wrote and prayed Mr Wyght and your servant (bailiff) Motley to buy it, and if they lacked money they should have it from me. I never heard of Smith again until he had sold it to Button, who has done me many displeasures." (10th August, 1534). Kingston, no doubt, regarded the Park from the point of view of its hunting-value ; but we shall also find that he was also bent upon acquiring it for himself.

On May 26th previous, Smith had written to Lord Lisle :[2] " Whereas, by your commandant, Mr Aylmer, I, and others, sold certain woods to Mr Button within the Park at Painswick, for which he paid us in ready money, yet the wood is still standing, and Button can make no sale thereof because your tenants are threatened that if they buy any of your wood from him they will lose their holdings after your decease, if that happen in master Dudley's lifetime.[3] Thus, the gentleman is likely to lose all his money unless your lordship have regard to your honour in the matter, and will cause all men to be lothe to meddle with any like matter of yours. Mr (Anthony) Kingston,[4] therefore, advised me to write this letter to you in his name and mine, for he wished the sale to take effect according to your letters."

We may believe that the felling of this particular wood might have proved annoying either to anyone living at the Lodge, or enjoying sporting privileges in the Park, and we cannot but conjecture that Sir William Kingston was for one of these reasons thus aggrieved ; yet he pretended to approve of the sale. He owned Miserden from the King, but he wanted Painswick also.[5]

On to this dilemma now comes King Henry VIII, himself who, in July, 1535, visited Painswick and Miserden, with Anne Boleyn, while hunting

[1] *i.e.* that I did deny your right.

[2] Mis-addressed to Sir W. Kingston in the Domestic Papers of Henry VIII.

[3] Sir John Dudley, Kt., who inherited, through his mother, a moiety in the Manor, He obviously spent time and hunted here like most of the owners of this manor.

[4] Afterwards the notorious Sir Anthony Kingston. Probably looking after his father's house at Miserden.

[5] The Kingston effigies in Miserden Church represent illegitimate issue of Sir Anthony Kingston.

during a visit to Gloucester.[1] Sir John Dudley, the part-owner of the manor, was now present.[2] The latter, on August 8th, wrote to Lord Lisle as follows : " When the King was at Painswick, he called me to him and asked if I had knowledge of a wood-sale that my Lord Lisle[3] should make within the lordship. I said I had heard of such a thing but not of late. The King said he had been told by Anthony Kingston[4] you had made a new sale of wood in the Park, and then he (A.K.) would not dwell in it if he might have it, for God amercy. The King desired me to ask the bailiff if it were true, as he could not believe it, so I called Motley, who said there was no such thing since the sale made to Button of 400 trees in the Park, which were not yet felled." This seems to point to Anthony Kingston's chagrin (likewise natural) at the effects of felling the Park timber. He told the King he would not consider the place worth having at such a sacrifice of its value. It is thus evident that both Sir William Kingston and his son were looking to future personal acquisition of the Lodge and Park of Painswick.[5] But, further, " the King then desired that, anywise Button should not have them (the trees) as it would ruin the lordship." (*ie* from the Crown point of view). (cf. Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic Vol. IX., 53 in XXVII. Henry VIII.) We shall find that Sir William and Lady Kingston ultimately (1540) did obtain the entire Manor, with the exception

[1] A portion of Longridge was long known as ' the Queen's Wood,' and a parcel of land there was called ' Queen's Acre,' presumably in honour of this memorable Hunting here. MR. 1608. A. 6 James 1. Between *Longridge Wood* and *Queen's Wood* (alias le Doune). Tenants of *Painswick Manor* are to repair and to replant when necessary the hedges from Little Gate to *Queens Acre* and the tenants of *Miserden* from the Ditch and fence to the gate in *Queen's Acre*. The Lord of Manor of Pk. will repair the *Gate*.

[2] Probably residing at the Lodge.

[3] Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle.

[4] Sheriff of Gloucester, 1533. To fell trees at this period licences from the Keeper of the *King's Forests* had to be obtained. Such were granted under certain conditions—exempting anciently—known trees and boundary-trees ; and in fitting season. Certain months were forbidden. It might not be done to the expulsion of the wild beasts ranging therein.

See Berkeley muniments : 678 (p. 203) for such a Licence to *Sir John Husey*, Kt. of Bitton, near Kingswood, Co. Glos.

Right of common did not include the cutting-down or mutilation of trees.

The prostration of trees became a consideration for damages.

1607. *V. F. P. Painswick.*

John Wheler is fined for using his boys to cut wood and spoil in the Lords Wood at Longridge.

Special license could be occasioned by the building of a Church. The Canons of *Cirencester* were in 1191 permitted freely " to take from our wood which belongs to *Minety* sufficient green and dry timber for the use of their House from the said wood (Oakley) and they and their men shall in no wise be distrained upon for waste " (*i.e.* injury to the woods.)

[5] We should recollect that the Kingstons, Cromwell, and the Seymours were all of them pre-eminent land-grabbers during the dissolution.

of certain monastic properties contained within it, such as : the ' Abbey Farm,' ' Seagryms,' ' Combe House ; ' held respectively by St Peter's, Gloucester, Flanesford Priory (Co. Hereford), and Llantony, at Gloucester.

Leonard Smith having written to Lord Lisle on June 19th :—" I have been at (your manors of) Kingston-Lisle (Berks) and Payneswike with Mr Aylmere, where we viewed your woods, both within the Park and without, and have sold as much as we conveniently can at this time," it becomes certain that Arthur Lord Lisle's agents intended to go further had they not become hindered by the significant interference of interested parties as shown above. It is worthy of note (as shown in another letter of this correspondence, dated June 2nd) that the journey to London, on horse-back, occupied the best part of five days. " I intend," says Leonard Smith, " on Friday next to ride to Payneswike with Mr Aylmere, and in four or five days to be in London again." On the 18th July, Smith had once more " ridden into Gloucestershire for delivery of the wood-sale at Payneswike." (Epist : 989).

To see all these people clearly we must note here that Smith, Aylmere, and ' others ' acted by Lord Lisle's command and obtained ready-money payment from Button for the trees ; and this is proved by the letters of May 26 and Aug. 8, previously cited. Yet, it would seem, the learned editor of the letters has made an error in writing ' Sir William Kingston ' for ' Lord Lisle ' in the said particular letter.

The reasons are these : (1) The letter speaks of " your tenants and their holdings." (2) Of " Motley, your bailiff there." Such phrases can only have been addressed to the actual Lord of the Manor, whom, we see, desired the sale. The Lord of the Manor was Lord Lisle, and Motley was his bailiff. That being so, and the latter proceeding to mention that " Mr (Anthony) Kingston advised me to write this letter to you in his name and mine, for he wished the sale to take effect," we should but for the above error deduce that Sir William Kingston and his son were of two ways of thinking about the sale. But, whether that was so or not, it is evident that a second sale of wood was projected, which was to the distaste of both the Kingstons, and that the King's presence was taken advantage of in order, if possible, to prevent spoiling, as they thought, the property they either hoped to live upon or which they already enjoyed as sportsmen. Further wood-sales took place in 1538, early in which year Thomas, Lord Cromwell, the Privy Seal (on behalf secretly of Kingston), seriously made up his mind to wrest Painswick manor from its owner, and Honor, Lady Lisle, with whose marriage-portion it was charged, as well as the marriage-portions of Lord Lisle's three daughters by his first wife, Elizabeth (Grey-Dudley) Lady Lisle. By this date, Lisle was deeply in debt, and in his difficulty was endeavouring to obtain an annuity

from Cromwell. The negotiations were of a protracted nature, and a great number of letters passed between the concerned parties, namely Lord Lisle Sir John Dudley, with their agents, and Thomas Cromwell. Lady Lisle, especially, played a great part in the sale of the Manor, as the following letter witnesses, while it throws further light on the position of the Kingstons.[1]

" Lady Lisle to Lord Lisle. 16th November, 1538.

" As he (Lord Cromwell) said nothing of Payneswike, I opened the subject, saying Mr Pollard had moved me in his behalf for it, and that, though I had refused sundry great offers, seeing he was my good lord, I would part with it to him if he would see me no loser ; provided this, his last request, was not for Mr Kingston (Anthony), but for himself. He promised me it was for himself alone."

This makes it clear that the Kingstons were really eager to possess the Manor, and that Lady Lisle and her husband especially objected to their doing so, she having taken a dislike to them.

On November 28th, Lady Lisle writes to her husband :

" I have acknowledged the surrender of my right in Payneswike and Moreton Valence on condition that when they are assured to my Lord Privy Seal he shall pay me an annual rent of one hundred and twenty pounds, but he claims the one thousand pounds, which was your interest after the death of your wife, in recompense *for what he has done for us in our affairs*. It grieves me, for, if it had not been for your displeasure, I never would have condescended thereto. He said your annuity should not be more than two hundred pounds, howbeit I will speak with the King before I depart."

On November 30th :

John Hussee to Lord Lisle.

" My lady has surrendered her rights to Payneswike before a judge. The one thousand pounds is forgotten. Your lordship is like to be no gainer."

Meanwhile, in the summer, during the suppression of the monasteries, the Crown granted to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, a fee of the site, ground, &c., of the dissolved Priory of Flanesford, near Goodrich (Hereford), within the Manor of Payneswike, which had been granted to it by his ancestor, Sir Richard Talbot, two hundred years before. And we must, for the moment,

[1] The Abbot of St. Peter's Glos. had granted *Sir Ant. Kingston*, Steward of the Abbey, a Lease of the Manor of Upton St. Leonards, Feb. 28, 1533 ; with the right of felling six loads of beechwood in Buckholt at a rental of 66s. 8d. increased on Oct. 2 to 15 loads ; also the tithes of Upton ; but not those of lands in *Prinknash Park*. *Prinknash* and *Buckholt* and *Ebbworth* all became surrendered by *Abbot Parker* 4th Jan. 1539. After this the *House and Park* of Prinknash were let at £5 p.a. on Kingston's agreement to *find* 40 *deer* and preserve them there. *C. DSP.*

step aside in order to note of what this property consisted. We can do so by means of a deed (Vol. X Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls) of Philip and Mary, wherein we see John Bridges, Lord Chandos, holding them as tenant ' pro Comes Salopiæ ' (for the Earl of Shrewsbury) :

Eight Messuages	..	200 acres.
Fields	..	60 ,,
Pastures	..	20 ,,
—	..	50 ,,
		= 330 acres.

This was situated chiefly where Seagryms[1] now is, and it included a water-mill, and a fuller's mill, then held by one, Thomas Oldfield.

So that the Talbots thus became re-possessed of certain ancestral Painswick lands, though not of the Manor itself, in the person of George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, the same who a little later was to be the custodian of Mary Queen of Scots. It is noteworthy in this connection that in his son's summons as Ambassador to France, he styles himself " Earl of Shrewsbury, Baron Talbot, Strange de Blackmere, Comyn of Badenoch, Valence, Montchensy, Furnival, &c.," thus summing up in his titles much of his Painswick Manor Ancestry.

The haggling between Cromwell and the Lisles did not finish until October 9th, 1539, when John Huntly writes to Lady Lisle : " My Lord Privy Seal is through with him (my Lord Lisle) for Payneswike, and my Lord (Lisle) has received four hundred pounds. I doubt not your jointure will be made sure this term." In Cromwell's Accounts we read (Oct. 6th), " My Lord Lisle, for purchasing of Payneswike £400."

And thus this Manor, together with Moreton Valence and Whaddon, passed by a tripartite Indenture[2] between Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle, Lady Honor, his wife, and Sir John Dudley, to Cromwell, for which the purchaser covenanted to grant the two former an annuity of one hundred and twenty pounds during their lives, with a clause of distress.

On October 16th, Sir John Dudley signed a Deed of Settlement made between the same parties and Cromwell, and a Release from himself on the 19th. Cromwell, accordingly, entered and took possession of the Manor, and was feoffed thereof. Then, after a few months we find the following :— *May*, 1540. (733 28). Grant by *Thomas, Earl of Essex*, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, to alienate to Sir *William Kingston, K.G.*, Comptroller of the Household, and *Mary, his wife, Painswike* and *Moreton Valence Manors*,

[1] Ayers Mill.

[2] Cf. Appendix to this Chapter.

(*Westminster.*) But, within eight months of his doing so, the great blow fell upon this greedy minister, who, at the time of his arrest (June 10th), and execution (July 28th), was already to be found doing that which he had solemnly promised Lady Lisle he would not do, namely, passing the Manor of Painswick with its belongings over to Sir William Kingston by a deed of sale. By his attainder, however, all his possessions suddenly became forfeit, yet Sir William experienced little difficulty in obtaining them from the Crown by a grant in Fee August following. In Vol. 15 (1027) of the Domestic and State Papers, Henry VIII, (1540), we read : " Sir William Kingston, K.G and Mary, his wife[1]—Grant in Fee of Manors of Payneswike and Moreton Valence, and all lands in Painswick, Moreton, Epney, Horsemarley, Stanley Pontlarge, Painswick, Strode, Sponebede, Sheppescombe, Edge and Edgeworth, Co. Gloucester, which Thomas Cromwell, late Earl of Essex, acquired of Arthur, Viscount Lisle, Dame Honore, his wife, and Sir John Dudley, which he sold to the present grantees ; but which were forfeit by his attainder." [See Appendix to this chapter].

But, besides the Flanesford lands in the Manor we recollect that two other monasteries held lands in it, namely, St. Peter's, Gloucester, and Llantony Secunda, also at Gloucester. The lands of the latter, together with tenements and quarries including the Great and Little Node, were granted to Arthur Porter, Esq., of Newent. It possessed a capital messuage called Combe House, which stood below the Rudge, and later became Gardiners.[2]

The Abbey of St Peter's held land, chiefly common land free-warren and pasture at, and beyond, Ebbworth, in the Slad Vale, and a messuage, to the extent of perhaps one hundred and sixty acres, and known, from its feudal tenure by its famous holders, as *Ebbworth Manor*. These became, a little later, granted by Edward VI. to his uncle Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset ; while the advowson of the Church of Painswick passed to his brother, Lord Seymour of Sudeley.

The decease of Arthur, Lord Lisle, K.G. two years later, 1542, under

[1] This is the lady who repeated all that Anne Boleyn said to her in prison, to her husband, and he to Cromwell, to that Queen's destruction. Daughter of Sir R. Scrope, she had married Sir Edward Jerningham, Knt. It will be recalled that, upon the evening before her execution (May, 1536), Anne requested Lady Kingston to go in her name to the Princess Mary, and to implore her pardon for the many wrongs which she (Anne) had done her. Mary immediately took advantage of this visit of Lady Kingston's to Hunsdon to re-open through Cromwell her relations with Henry, her father ; adding, " I have not written so much this two year and more, nor could have found the means to do it at this time, but by my Lady Kingston's being here."

[2] Oct. 31st 1538, *Crown-lease* for 21 years of all titles of corn and hay of the demesnes called *Yfold, Duddescombe, Wyshwellham, the Node* and other fields belonging to *the Node* in the Manor of *Painswick* which belonged to the late *Priory of Lantony at Gloucester. Rent* £6 0 0.

peculiar circumstances, is of sufficient interest to this narrative to deserve passing notice. At pp. 181-2 of the Annals of England, 1542, by Francis Lord B. of Hereford, Morgan Godwyn trans : London, 1630, we read :—

" About the same time Arthur, Viscount Lisle, naturall sonne of Edward the fourth, out of a surfeit of sudden joy, deceased. Two of his servants had been executed the preceding yeare for having conspired (with Sir Gregory Botolph, his Chaplain, and Clement Philpot) to betray Calais to the French (*i.e.* Cardinal Pole) and the Viscount, as being conscious (was) committed to the Tower. But upon manifestation of his innocence, the King sent unto him Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Principall Secretary of Estate, by whom he signified the great content he had received in the Viscount's approved fidelity, the effects whereof hee should finde in his present liberty and that degree of favour that a faithfull and beloved unkle deserved. The Viscount, receiving such unexpected newes, imbelished with rich promises and royall tokens (the King having sent him a diamond of great value) of assured favour, being not sufficiently capable of so great joy, free from all symptomes of any other disease, the ensuing night expired. After whose decease, Sir John Dudley was created Viscount Lisle,[1] claiming that honour as hereditary in right of his mother, Lady Elizabeth, sister and heire to the Lord Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle, wife of the deceased Lord Arthur, but formerly married to Edmund Dudley, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, beheaded the first year of the King's reign."[2] And thus came to an end the intricate chain of the earlier heritage of this Cotteswold Manor.

SOME STATUTES OF THE MANOR OF PAINSWICK.

It is enacted that no tenant shall keep any dog to disturb the Lord's warrant, anno 9 Hen : VI.

It is ordered that none shall make any footpath over the field of Ham and Washwell, a. 9 Hen : VI.

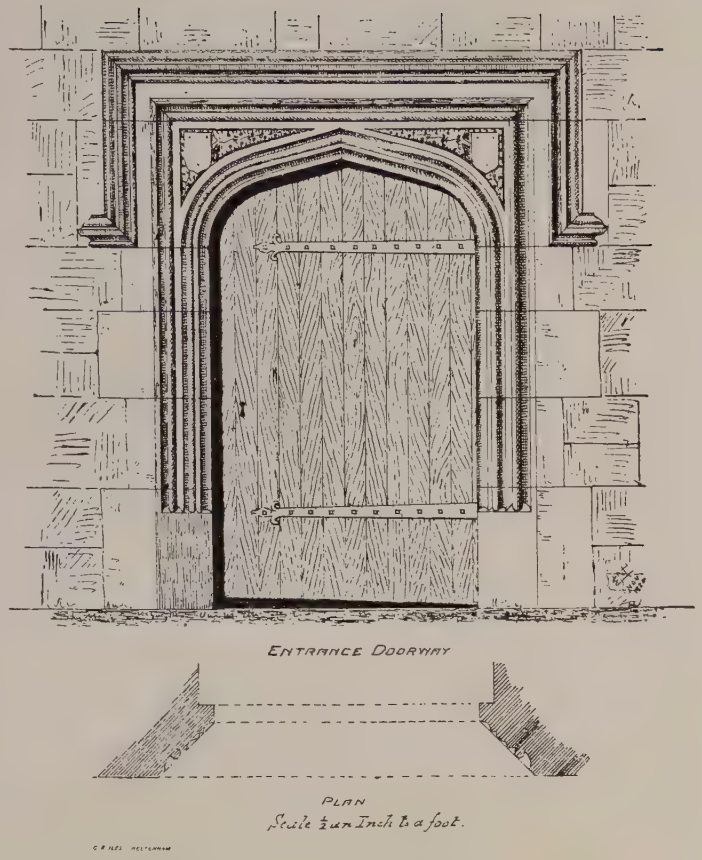
It is ordered that none shall have ale to sell without license of the ale-tasters. Subpœna VIs. VIIId., a. 2 Hen : VII.

It is ordered that no butcher shall throw any dung in any part of the town, a. 10 Hen : VIII.

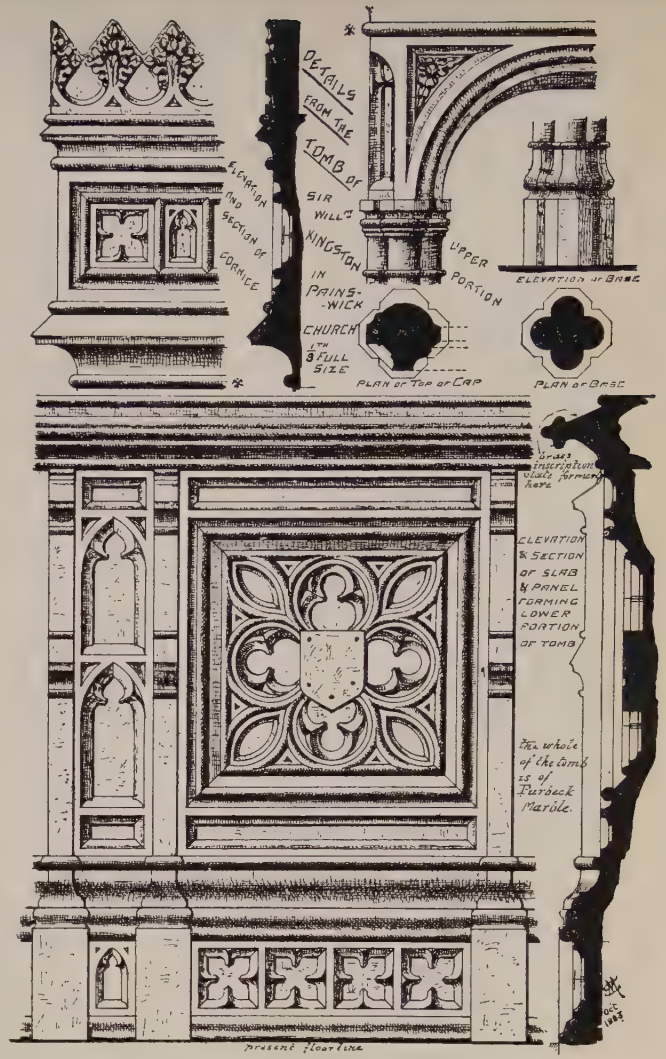
It is ordered that no inhabitant shall keep pigs continually ringed, a. 12 Hen : VIII.

[1] 12th March, 1542/3.

[2] 1510.

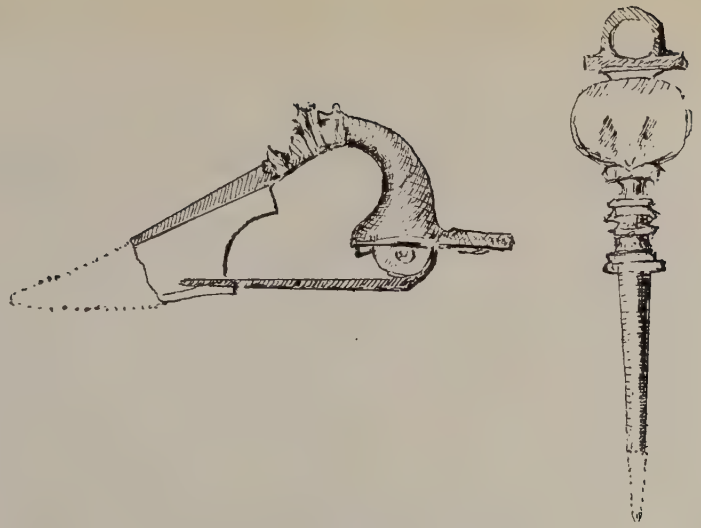


DOOR TO THE LODGE-COURT

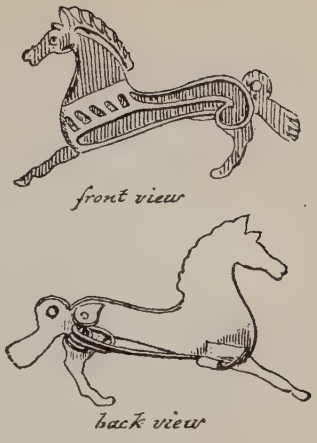

DETAILS FROM THE TOMB OF SIR WILL.M KINGSTON IN PAINS-WICK CHURCH
ELEVATION AND SECTION OF CORNICE
UPPER PORTION
ELEVATION OF BASE
PLAN OF TOP OF CAP
PLAN OF BASE
ELEVATION & SECTION OF SLAB & PANEL FORMING LOWER PORTION OF TOMB
present floor line

A TOMB IN ST. PETER'S CHAPEL OF ONE OF THE VISCOUNTS LISLE OF PAINSWICK (?) 1504

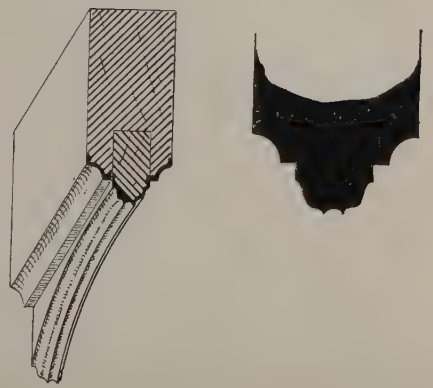
facing p. 144



FIBULA: (late-Celtic)
KIMSBURY HILL (FOOT)



ROMAN FIBULA
(Ifold Villa)



NEW HALL (*Trusses*) c. 1430

RICHARD II.

It is ordered that none shall suffer his pigs to go in the churchyard, a. 14 Hen : VIII.

It is ordered that none shall wash clothes or any other thing in the upper flowe at Towys[1] well. For every default a fine of 20d., a. 32 Hen : VIII.

It is ordered that none in this Manor shall wash, or cause to be washed, anything impure or vile at Tobyes[2] well., ap. 25, a. 8 Elizabeth.

It is ordered that no one shall wash the entrails of swine at Tibby's[3] well, for default VIs. VIIId., ap. 17, 19 James I.

The Order in regard to the receiving of ' Lygght ' persons is to remain as it was. In default 21s., a. 24 Eliz :

It is ordered that no wood shall be taken from Kimsbury Hill or from the adjacent common-land, and that no dogs be led to the Hill so as to worry sheep pasturing there. 6s. 8d., 17 ap. 19 James I. (1622).

It is ordered that no one shall keep more than 80 sheep for one virgate (30 acres or less) of land. 10s., a. 4 James I. (1607).

Among the important free-tenants of the Manor must be mentioned once more the Devonshire family of Ralegh (of Charles) at Edgworth. In the Rolls (a. 50 Edward III.) we find Thomas Ralegh of Charles recovered seisin of a third part of the Manor of Legh against Gilbert Talbot of Paneswyk, Chevalier. In 1430 (a. 8 Hen : VI.) his son William Ralegh holds Eggesworth[4] Manor, with advowson of its Church, as from the manor of Payneswyk. At Lassington he holds two parts of the manor as from the Barony of Churchdown, also Legh Manor, Northcote manor, and land and a messuage at Turkdene. In 1496, Edward Ralegh, knight (d. 1509), holds certain lands at Edgeworth, and is the son of Anthony Ralegh. In 1512 (Esch. 5 Hen : VIII.), these are held by his son George (and Simon Ralegh, 1558) who appears among the Assessors of St. Mary of Painswick, with Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir John Bridges, and Thomas Clinton, and as a free tenant in 1552

[1], [2], [3] Observe the various forms of this local name : Towy, Tobye, Tibby. For its origin various improbable guesses have been offered, such as St. *Ebb : Tibba :* and OE pn. *Teowa*. It would seem from its evidences that the name had formerly an OE possessive '*s*' ; but the 's' has not survived, and it remains uncertain if it really belonged. It is so often excrescent. To-day the spring is only known as Tibby-well.

[4] This was the ½ fee manor that had been held by Peter de Edgeworth and later (1284) by Stephen de Edgeworth, of Warine and William de Monchensi. The other ½ fee of Edgeworth was also held of the De Laci by the de Heliuns (Bretons). Cf Walter de Heliun (1284). Certain land also at Winston near by also was held in 1271, a. 57, H.3. and escheated to the Crown. The Raleighs had intermarried with this Breton family.

(a. 6 Edw : VI.) In 1596, a second George Ralegh is Lord of the manor of Edgworth.[1]

John West held a portion of Damsels by the tenure (or reserve rent) of rendering one red rose on St John Baptist's day, as had been ordained in 1313, at Painswick (a. 7 Edw : II.) It consisted of a toft[2] and croft, and three acres of arable land in the Delle, stretching up toward the wood called ' Longridge ;' but one field called ' Crouches,' we hear of (a. 6 Edw : VI) held *pro capitali redditu manerii de Ebbworthe solvendum manerio de Payneswyk* or as part of Ebbworth Manor.

Sir William Kingston, K.G. dying almost immediately after acquiring Painswick, and being buried in the Founder's Chapel in the north aisle[3] of Painswick Church (Sept. 20, 1540), the Manor passed into the hands of Dame Mary his widow (d. 1547), and after her to his son by his first wife (name not known), Anthony. The Chapel had passed to the Lord of the Manor upon the dissolution of the Monastery of Llantony at Gloucester. The Chantry lands of St. Mary now became granted out to tenants by copy of Court Roll, in fact, as ordinary copyholds. (See pp. 34-5 Hist. St Mary of Painswick). As to the Advowson of the Church, it has passed as already mentioned, as an emolument to Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, the Lord High Admiral, from whom it fell presently owing to his attainder, to the Crown, which, for the next fifty years, presented to the Living. It was probably due to the Kingstons that the Rl. William Inn at Prinknash became called, until 1830, ' the *Henry VIIIth*,' Walpole & Pennant, and Selwyn of Matson, all knew and mentioned it as a curiosity. It is a pity such a rare Sign with historic reasons for its occurrence there, should have been dropped in order to flatter William IV who was never here-abouts and reigned but seven years. Walpole and Selwyn both were familiar with Portway and Prinknash in 1774. Besides the portrait representing the Sailor-King is a contemptible libel as a picture.

[1] In a MS. volume containing Land Rents of St. Guthlac, Hereford, now belonging to Hereford Library, occur two items relating to Edgworth : " Item of the portions of Tithes at Edgworth, viz., the two parts of the Tithe of the demesne there so demised to Sir James Lowe, vicar of Bisley." a. 33 Hen : VIII. " Richard Hill, parson of Edgworth." a. 37 Hen. VIII.

[2] Norse term.

[3] Now St. Peter's Chapel. This was *a Founder's* (not a chantry) Chapel. However, I find that it probably did (in late pre-reformation days) include an Altar dedicated to the *Holy-Trinity*. For the Trinity was painted upon the Wall, and the *Kingstons' Effigies* seemed looking at it. (1926.) This was perhaps the actual origin of the *Lodge-(Farm) Altar*, dedicated as that is to Holy Trinity and all Saints ? If so, we may legitimately suppose that the Kingstons when they appropriated the Talbot-Grey tomb in 1540 for Sir William's resting-place, took the Altar away to the Lodge Chapel (destroyed before 1850). It is now securely rescued by the present owner and placed where it can be well examined as the most perfect inscribed Altar in this County.

The Homage (pro Rege) of a Court held by Mary, Lady Kingston, on January 26th, 1548, a. 2 Edw. VI), contains these following names, some of which are still known in Painswick :—

Thomas Coke	Thomas Loveday (sen.)	William Tykell
Thomas Adeane	Thomas Loveday (jun.)	Walter Broke
William Mayle	John Oliver	William Whiting
Richard Gardener	Henry Baron	John Colyns
John Motley	Richard Coke	William Passelowe

The mill standing then in the bottom ' near the Park Pale ' was then called Borton's Mill,[1] held by John Berry. Next it was the Park pool.

What is now called ' White Hall '[2] was then called ' Whytewall-end.' later (1694 *Whitelonds*) and Stamages Lane[3] (under that name) did not yet exist. To what building (if any) the white wall belonged, is not clear. Wherever this name occurs we might expect ancient entrenchments.[4] Of particular interest is the mention (a. xvi. Hen. VIII) of a Seye- =*Saye :* mill belonging to Rich. Gardener (*le Seye Mylle Sea-mills*) nr Bitton was also called from the manufacture of a rough serge-cloth (cf. Pl. N. *Glos.*)

Thomas Browne is ordered ' to repair his house lying near the Cross[5] at Castell Hale' before the next Court sits, under penalty of 5s. A controversy was proceeding between John Pytte,[6] of Castle Hale, and Thomas Adeane, of White-wall-end. This duly was settled. There is recorded as treasure found at Pyncottes Crosse le mattocke and two arrows, value XVId. The chief miller, as usual, was a Loveday. Thus, we know that there were many crosses about Painswick. One was called Senters Cross (Le Seyntur=a saddler) Seynters (or Saddlers) and beyond the town, towards the Park Gate,[7] stood Damsels Cross, while, somewhere in St Mary Street stood yet another.

Elizabeth Motley, daughter of Amos Myll, the richest and most landed customary tenant in this manor, was the wife of John Motley, the bailiff of the Lisles, previously-mentioned. She had rebuilt in 1529 her father's

[1] *i.e.* where the two streamlets meet, and, formerly, made a long pool-dam ; the one from Shepscombe and the Leden, or Wick-Stream, from Cranham.

[2] The Home.

[3] Leading to Wick Street.

[4] White Walls occur in connection with earth-works near ancient roads in this county elsewhere, as well as near Sherston in Wilts. In 1694 the spot is marked on a terrier as *Whitelands*. *Lues Carolingiana* has been responsible for *Whitehall*.

[5] Called also the High Cross.

[6] Died Easter, 1551. His wife Alicia paid for heriot one Ox to the lord for admittance there.

[7] Now a hamlet called ' the Park.'

messuage and farm called Heryngs[1] (later, 1729 Adeys), to which pertained sixty acres, besides other land in Ifold, and a quarry in Sponebed, two shops called Petgrange and Placidas, in Painswick, and ground called Barons, and Le Wayne House, and other ground adjoining the churchyard wall.

Judging from the large amount of dilapidations ordered to be amended at this period one may conclude that Painswick had been experiencing lean times. With the speculative middle of the sixteenth century, however, England generally was returning to industrial prosperity; many new families[2] took their start to distinction, if not greatness, and it is certain that Painswick duly shared in that improvement, although her more substantial wealth came to her in the following century. Instead of being without glass in their windows, the poorer copyholders began to afford glazing, or horn panes, and houses which had hitherto not known chimneys but single flues, now began to build them,[3] while the well-to-do ones could indulge in decorated half-timbered houses and oak-panelling, with made plaster-work ceilings, and they set stone-tiled roofs in lieu of mere thatching. In every street, probably, could be heard sounds of warp and shuttle within the houses. Life was definitive and hard-working; there was no time to be idle, and self-respect was ever increasing with increasing freedom. The Painswick mercer let his pony drink at Tibbywell as it returned home with him from Bisley across Slad.

[1] Now part of the entirely modern Park of Painswick House.

[2] Like the Spencers, Cecils, and others.

[3] Cf. Hall, ' Society in the age of Elizabeth.' The late Mr Albert Hartshorne while staying here in 1901 noticed several panes of *horn* in windows down Vicarage Lane.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X.

" A brief note taken of the conveyance of the Manor of Painswick to the Lord Cromwell Xr. (Chancellor) (1540).

" In that it appeareth by an Indenture bearing date the XVIIth day of November in the XIIIIth year (1522) of the reigne of the king that the Manor of Payneswyke and other Mannors were recovered by a Wrytt of Entree in the Poste againste Sir Arthure Plantagenett and dame Elizabeth his wiffe to the use of the said Sir Arthure and such wiffe as the said Sir Arthure should have after the deceasse of the said Dame Elizabeth during their two lives with dyvers reversions.

" 1. Item by another Indenture trypertyte dated the VIIth day of October anno XXXImo (1539) Regis nostri Henrici,—The said Sir Arthur Plantagenett, Viscount Lysle, Lady Honora his wife, and Sir John Dudley[1] knight bargayned and solde the said Manor of Payneswyk and other manors unto the lorde Cromwell and to his heires in which said Indenture the said lorde Cromwell covenanted to and with the said Viscount Lisle and Lady Honora to make a sure and sufficient graunte of one annuite unto the said Viscount and lady Honora during their lyffes of the some of one hundred and xx. li. before the feaste of the Nativitee of our Lorde then next insuyng.

" 2. Item : A dede of feoffment made by the said Viscount Lisle and Sir John Dudley knyght of the said Maner of P. and other manners unto the said lorde Cromwell and his heires sealed only with the sealle of the said Sir John Dudley dated XVI die Octobris anno Regis Nostri XXXImo, and a relleas from the said Sir John bearing date XIXo die Octobris ao R.N. XXXI. (1539).

" 3. Item, the said lorde Cromwell recovered the said Manor of P. and others by wrytt of entree in the Post against the said Viscount Lisle and lady Honora his wyffe with a voucher against the said John Dudley knyght in Octavis sci Michaelis anno XXXImo R.N. and entred and took possession accordingly and was thereof feoffed by fforce of the said recovery.

[1] Dudley having a moiety in this Manor as in Kingston Lisle, Berkshire, which latter was the head of the Barony of Lisle. He, it will be recollected, was the son of Elizabeth, Viscountess Lisle, by her first husband, and was destined to become Duke of Northumberland and father of Robert, Earl of Leicester. As he appeared, we saw, accompanying the King and Anne Boleyn in their Hunting in July 1535, it is probable that he resided at the Lodge so recently then converted into a complete Manor-House.

" 4. Item : In quindena Michaelis anno R.N. XXXImo. the said Sir Arthure (and) Dame Honora his wyffe and the said Sir John Dudley knight by ffyne knowledged (sic) all there ther ryght in the said Manor of Paynyswyke and other to be the ryght of the said lorde Cromwell and his heires by the which said ffyne the said lorde Cromwell graunted unto the said Viscount and Lady during their lyves one annuell rent of the some of one hundred XX li. poundes with clause of Distress.

" 5. Item : By another indenture bearing date the Xth daye of December anno R.N. XXXImo the said lorde Cromwell covenanted and graunted unto the said Viscount and lady Honora that if it ffortuned the said rent graunted by ffyne afforesayd to be behind unpaide after any of the dayes of payment in which it ought to be paide by the space of syx weekes,—That then the lorde Cromwell his heirs executors and assignes shall paye or cause to be payde unto the said Viscount and lady Six Poundes XIIIs. IIIId. with a clause of distress in the said Manor of Paynyswike and other mannors.

" 6. Item : It was enacted by authority of parleament that the said lorde Cromwell sholde fforfeitt unto our soverayne lorde the Kynge all his honours, mannours, lands, tenements and hereditaments whereof he himself or any other person or persons to his use were ffeaffed of estate of inheritance in ffee simple ffee taill in reversion or possession at the last daye of March anno R.N. (Regis nostri) XXXmo or any tyme syns saving to all and singuler person and persons bodies pollytyke and corporate and ther heires and successors and the heires and successors and assignes of every of them other than the said Thomas lorde Cromwell and to his heires and all and every other person and persons clayming by the saide Thomas lorde Cromwell and to his use all suche ryght tale entree possession interests remainders, reversions, leases, commodities, ffees, offices, rents, annuities, commissions and all other commodities, profits and hereditaments whatsoever they or any of them mought shold or ought to have had yff this Acte had never been had nor made."

CHAPTER XI.

THE ORIGINAL COURT-HOUSE — THE CASTLE — THE MANOR LODGE THE PARK — THE ALTAR-STONE.

THE administrative Court-house of this Manor, we find occupied a strip of ground a little east of the mansion built (c. 1600) by one Thomas Gardener, a rich mercer, and since 1680 called 'Court-house.' It had already been pulled down before Edward VI.'s reign; and a cottage with a garden occupied the site next the church stile. When in existence and used, it stood but a stone-throw from the residence of the Lords of the Manor, and was accessible from St. Mary Street. In the lower grounds, obstructing the cultivator, lay remains of the still earlier 'Castellum' or fortified mansion, of DeLaci and Pain Fitzjohn, now represented only by the name in Castle Hale,[1] by certain subterranean walls, a covered flagged court, and perhaps by the nettles abundant in Court-orchard. The Earl of Shrewsbury,[2] as we have seen, for special reasons gave up his household at Painswick 1443, and soon after that period the manor-house environment was, like other reserved portions of the Demesne, divided up into virgates, or yard-lands, and half-yard-lands, and let out to leading copyhold tenants. In 1495 we find Thomas Pytte had the Castellum. Presumably, the Court-house (which is not yet mentioned by such name, however) was still in existence. A Roll of a. 8 Elizabeth, sixty years later, speaks of the ground as that " Whereon stood formerly the Court-house." (Olim constructa fuit).

What then was the status of the Manor-Lodge, which, instead of the Castle came to be the chief messuage or residence here of the later Viscounts Lisle, the Lord Thomas Howard, of Kingstons and Jerninghams and of Sir Ralph Dutton, and remained such until 1831 ? A 'Lodge' was the necessary adjunct to every deer-park,[3] where the Owner could enjoy the pleasures of the chase and the Ranger could attend to his many responsibilities. The

[1] 'Hale' here stands, for *W. Saxon Healh :* dative, *Hale :* a corner.

[2] Created Earl, a. 20, Hen : VI.

[3] Thirty-one Parks are mentioned in Domesday Survey. HAYS, or HALÆ, were enclosures within the adjacent woods for the purposes of entrapping deer. A park was usually walled with stone or oak-pales.

enlargement of this Lodge sometimes did convert it as here into the Manor House (if the latter had perished), though it (as here also) retained its old name. In such cases the Lodge became substitute for Castle, or Manor-House. For where the Manor-lord lived was the Court. It was placed so as to command a practical good view over the Park. The younger brothers, or sons, of knightly or noble families, often held the office of Ranger or Parker.[1] Sir Maurice Berkeley and William Bassett kept the park of Painswick in 1512, and doubtless lived near the Lodge. Later a little, probably from motives of economy, Arthur, Lord Lisle, retained it alone as a residence for his hunting, being mostly employed elsewhere. But his wife evidently loved it. But the oldest parts of it (as has been pointed out) antedate his time by fully over a century,[2] while before his day it had been given a fine new Hall, perhaps by the Howards, and became enlarged so as to be the capital messuage resided in by the Greys, Knyvetts, and Lisles and Dudleys, their descendants, as Lords of this Manor.[3]

The history of the Lodge (qua Lodge, not Manor-house) probably should date back to earlier than A.D. 1260 ; but we do not know how far anterior to this date. Hunting and hawking must have been chief recommendations here throughout Norman days and long after. Seeing, as has been shewn, that the Park was plundered by marauders who drove off its deer, in the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II., it is clear that a Lodge, and a substantial one, was a necessity. This, the Talbots certainly glorified (c) 1400. The early 15th cent. re-building of The Lodge must have occurred when Sir Gilbert Talbot II (b. 1383) was the lord and John, the future Earl of Shrewsbury, his younger brother, hunted here. But only a small wing of this rebuilding now remains, forming the northern side of the present house. Even since 1924 a second beautiful two-light cusped window has been uncovered in site, and it may well date to the end of Richard 2nd's time.

Let us therefore examine and describe the house or so much of it as remains. From having been until some years after 1831 a four-sided house[4] enclosing a paven court-yard, it has since that time lost all but the north and

[1] Hence the minor official names of Forester, Forster, Parker, &c.

[2] The Tudor ceiling-beams or stone-door labels may well be even a little before his time.

[3] While here, on Sept. 22, 1528, Lord Lisle saw fit to proclaim that, on account of good and laudable services, he had seen fit to reward Thomas Blysse with an annuity of £2 3s. 4d. in rent from Painswick Manor ; also a similar sum, for his life, arising from certain orchards, woods, and pastures in Painswick, to be paid at Lady Day and Michaelmas to him or his assigns.

[4] As described in the Auction Leaf of that year :—" An ancient quadrangular mansion, with a court in the centre."

east sides, thus leaving it but the form of the Letter L. On approaching from Painswick it is the short, or oldest, arm of this letter which first presents itself. The remainder is early Tudor.

The whole-building backed by the grand Saltridge of Ebbworth is situated so as to fully survey the spacious timbered valley with the former Park Pool glittering below, and, further, the Park rising steeply to Longridge on the left. Painswick with its vale lies directly in front of all that, while, on the right, or north, it looked across to the hamlet of ' Paradise ' with the overlooking bare ridge of the bronze-Age camp (1029 ft.) hiding Gloucester. Many elms of the date of George I., planted by the later Jerninghams still remain, especially they are seen skirting the square garden immediately behind (E of) the house.[1]

The northern wing consists, then, of the base of the L built in two unequal sections. The lowest in altitude, shortest in length, and the oldest of these is the western-most half of it, easily to be distinguished by the drop between the respective roofs ; for, from the northern face of it at this point of junction projects the modern dairy, somewhat concealing the junction, and its lean-to roof also closing out some of the lights of an upper window. To the right of the projection, on the ground floor, is seen the graceful two-light window here represented. In 1926 another beautiful two-light window well preserved, was found upon the upper floor looking into the Court. Beyond this occurs (externally still), a modern buttress, and then we come to a curious little projection forming the western termination of the north-wing. This projection rises in two floors into a gabled stone-tiled roof, originally without a chimney, and consists within of two very small chambers, the one above the other, measuring 7 feet and 6 feet, with a height of about 8 feet apiece.

The lower of these is gained on its western face through a pointed exterior door, which, however, does not open from the vestibule itself, but from outside, into a small vestibule. From the latter another even stouter stone doorway, 2 feet wide, lets us through direct on our left into the lower chamber. This, on either side of it carries a low stone bench (not original) leading up to a (relatively) modern fire-hearth with inserted chimney at its further (or north) end. On the right wall, at 2 feet above the stone bench is seen a small splayed light, and on the opposite side, at 3 feet above the bench, is a two-light window, also splayed through a wall of 1 foot 4 inches thickness. This is of later date than its fellow. At 8 feet above the floor occurs the

[1] In 1616 (a. 13, James I.) William Osborne surrenders with other land and mills and messuages all the ground lying between the part called ' Hazelhonger Mead ' and the ' King's Highway,' a track leading from ' Painswick Lodge ' toward Gloucester, to the use of Thomas Jernegan (Gent.) son of Henry Jernegan, and a minor.

wooden ceiling, now (1907) without plaster. The modern filling up of the wall of the vestibule tells that once the room communicated immediately with the rest of this wing. [Since 1924 all has, of course, changed for the better.)

The question arises—for what purposes were these small rooms, one above the other, designed ? The stone benches and fire-place in the lower one, are, although old, certainly not original. In this case, the functions of this chamber have been entirely changed by their insertion, and it has been, in its latter days, used perhaps as a porter's chamber ; but, in earlier days it may well have been the 'necessarium,' its fellow adjoining the bed-chamber above it.

The south side of this wing is found possessing a modern lean-to verandah, which, in imagination, we ought to clear away.[1] The original wall of the house beneath this is seen to be pierced by two stone doors near to one another, having pointed heads. The first (w) of these enters the flagged room terminating the wing. On examining this room the wall on the right of entrance is soon seen to be but an inserted partition of late date. We stand therefore in but a section of some large chamber. We must get behind that wall. We consequently go outside and enter the second of the arched (XV c.) doors. Once within this, we notice the large plain corbels on both sides, carrying the beams which support the upper floor, and now perceive that we have found the rest of the aforesaid large chamber. At its eastern end is a stone (closed-up) 16th century fireplace, measuring 5 feet in width, chamfered and brooched. Opposite us, on the north wall, and nearly up to the partition, occurs the two-light 15th cent. cusped window. Taking away the partition, then, what would be the dimensions of the original chamber ? These are 27 feet in length by 18 in width. The bed-chamber above, corresponded to the size of this one. Let it be remarked that wherever we go in the house there is evidence that owing to its great curtailment after 1840, the larger surviving rooms have been divided up by inserted partitions [mostly removed since 1923/4.]

Beyond these rooms we come at once to a pre-Tudor hall, now [before 1925] divided into three portions and more, the principal one serving as the present kitchen and being richly panelled with oak on all sides. A glance at the roof rib-mouldings tells us clearly that they are Tudor additions. The fire-place is at the northern end. At the northern-most corner occurs a newel-stair gained by an old pointed door. This room may have been the earliest Hall and later the chief dining-room. In this case the stair led to a formerly fine

[1] removed 1925.

chamber extending above it, which has likewise been divided up by crude partitions. The oak-panelling here is comparatively of late date, and the door leading to the Tudor entrance from the court is awkwardly jutted into the room at the opposite corner. This can all be easily made out by the visitor. In spite, therefore, of its reduced proportions this still remains a noble room. The windows, with occasional exceptions, have rounded mullions.

The next room, on the east adjoining this, reveals the same Tudor roof-ribs travelling on, and beyond that embracing the small ' made ' room to the main staircase (reconstructed entirely 1925/6) of the house. On to this stair opens the present porch, a modern addition to the four-centred Tudor doorway within it. To the right of this door, within it, we find a thick main wall marking the termination of the Tudor Hall. The room on the right, though not modern, has undergone complete transformation since the (1831) sale of the property. The windows have been moved from their original places, and their mullions have departed. The large bedroom above this is panelled with oak,[1] moulded in the characteristic Stuart manner, probably the work of Sir Henry Jerningham, Bt., (1625) or of Sir Ralph Dutton (1636-46). In such a room, their friend and master King Charles may have slept in August 1643, when his nephew and commander-in-chief Prince Rupert became quartered upon Sir John Bridgeman at Prinknash Park. conveniently near. There are no other panelled rooms left. On the other hand, the lost front or West wing of the House contained the Chapel, or oratory, and many other important rooms, commanding beautiful views.

Although there is reason for believing with Lady Bedingfield[2] that " the mansion was at no time a grand one," there is sufficient remaining evidence that it must have been a very desirable one, and we can only regret that the two other wings of it, one of which must have contained the chapel, have been ruthlessly demolished since 1840. The inscription upon the altar-stone (now over a new door[3] near this) runs :

" —Istud Altare dedicatum est in honorem Sancte Trinitatis et omnium Sanctorum a Nicholao Episcopo Suffraganeo.—"..Above it can be seen undisturbed the inserted stone that probably conceals the particular relic, whatever that may have been, within it. Three out of the usual five crosses remain. The said Bishop Nicholas, as before mentioned, was Suffragan

[1] Much of this has been removed since 1831, and what remains has thin old cornices of deal.

[2] Cf. The Jerningham Letters.

[3] Fortunately, since the first issue of this book the present owners, Mr and Mrs Lennox Murray have employed our late friend, Mr Sidney Barnsley, upon the work both of restoration, of discoveries, and extensions, and with most admired results.

of Worcester in 1403. As an altar with the same dedication is recorded to have stood before 1546 within St. Peter's Chapel it may well be this came here from the parish church after that date to serve the Jerningham oratory.

MANUMISSIO

(a. 3. Edward VI, 1549)

Omnibus Christi Fidelibus ad quos hoc presens Scriptum pervenerit, Anthonius Kingstone, Miles, Dominus Manerii de Payneswick cum pertinentiis, in Com' Gloucestriae, Salutem in Domino sempiternum. Noveritis me prefatum Anthonium manumisisse et liberos fecisse Johannem Collyns de Payneswick predictum, Seniorem, (*husbandman*), Johannem Collyns, Willelum Collyns, et Edwardum Collyns, filios predicti Johannis Collyns, Senioris ;—nativos meos manerio meo de Payneswick predicto spectantes et pertinentes, et eosdem aut eorum quemlibet ac totam eorum sequelam sive progeniam tam procreatam quam procreandam,—manumisisse, ac liberos fecisse ab omne jugo servitutis sive conditionibus servilibus. Ita tamen quod nec ego, prefatus Anthonius, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius per nos seu nomine nostro aliquod jura, tituli, clamei, vel interesse de aut in predicto Johanne Collyns seniore, and Johanne, Thomas, Willielmo, ac Edwardo filiis dicti Johannis Collyns senioris, seu in eorum progenia aut sequela modo procreata sive imposterum procreanda, nec in hereditamentis bonis aut cattallis eorum ad mundi quascumque partes divertat de cetero exigere, seisire, clamare, aut vendicare poterimus nee debemus in futuro ; Sed ab omni actione juris tituli clamei interesse ac demanda et in eis et in eorum qudlibet inde totaliter sumus exclusi et in perpetuum exonerati per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium, &c. Dat' xxvii die maii Anno regni Regis Edwardi Sexti tercio.

Assur' { Will : Mayle / Johan : Gyde } *Juratores.*

In addition to such personal evidences of Kingston's tenure as lord we have also the following far more intimate evidence of his residing here at Painswick, both at the *Sheephouse* and at the *Lodge*. This shews one of his visits to the *Court-house* by the Hale-lane Stile, on January 26, 1548 (*a.r.*).

'Ad hanc curiam venit *Anthony Kyngstone*, miles, in propria persona sua, et in plena curia sursum reddidit in manibus Domine (Marie Kingstone, viduæ) unum molendinum aquaticum granat' cum pertinentiis, &c.,–vocatum. *Bortons Mylle* jacentem juxta *le Parke pale* et reddendum annuatim XIIs. ad opus et usus Johannis Bery . . . . . et super hoc ad istam eandam curiam venit predictus *Johannis Bery* in propria persona sua . . . . . et in plena curia dicta cepit de Domina molendinum per manibus Senescalli, &c.' John Bery, accordingly, makes his fine of XIIs, does homage and he is duly admitted as tenant of the *Park Flour Mill*. (*i.e Highgrove*).

Lady Kingston died a little later and her evil stepson duly succeeded her as lord of the manor. It is quite probable he was arrested at the Lodge nine years later, as he was taken to neighbouring Coberley and kept under strict guard there.

CHAPTER XII.

SIR ANTHONY KINGSTON — THE GALLOWS — THE LYGONS — A MANUMISSIO — THE VICARAGE — ESTATE-ACCOUNTS.

DURING the reign of Queen Mary (1553-8), Sir John Dudley, Viscount Lisle (1542), having risen during the previous one upon the ruins of the Seymours—both of Thomas, Lord Sudeley, and of the great Protector—to the dignities of Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland (1551) involved himself in fatal antagonism to that Queen, and in 1553 he suffered together with his sons upon Tower Hill. He is mentioned now only as having been intimately connected with Painswick, and formerly living here, as part owner until 1539. Mary, Lady Kingston, Lady of the Manor, died in 1547 and was buried at Leyton in Essex.[1]

Sir Anthony Kingston, b. (c) 1519, who now became Lord of the Manor of Painswick, was made 'Admiral of the Ports' about the Severn. Henry VIII who had granted to him Flaxley, Newnham, Haresfield, Stanley St Leonnards, and Miserden, had knighted him in May, 1540, and conferred upon him the Constabulate of St Briavels with the Forest of Dene in 1542. If we may trust, as we may do, local tradition in this instance, Sir Anthony anon set up and actually endowed a gallows at Shepscombe together with a prison at Painswick, and that being so, we cannot doubt that yonder quiet valley witnessed many a gruesome execution. The Shepscombe gallows was indeed still standing, or rather, falling to pieces in 1775 (cf. *Complete Gazetteer of England and Wales*, vol. 2). It had stood crowning the sloping triangular bit of green just below the modern Church, where lately was a copper-beech-tree.[2] Whether the victims were local felons, or rebels from Devon we cannot say.

[1] Where is her epitaph. A miniature of her was in the possession of the late Right Hon : Sir Hubert Jerningham, Bt., who kindly placed at the writer's disposal many valuable documents now further utilised.

[2] Planted many years ago by Rev. Jos. Baylee. This tree was killed by contact with some lime thrown down during the erection of some cottages overlooking it, 1901. An oak has replaced it, 1904. Let us however, not omit to mention that he fulfilled some manorial duties of a more merciful kind. On May 27, 1549 (a. 3. Edw. VI.) he manumitted in the fullest possible legal manner John Collyns and his three sons. The witnesses to the Deed being William Mayle and John Gyde (*jurors*).

During the reign of Edward VI., Sir Anthony had distinguished himself by his ferocious activity (1549) as Provost Marshal in suppressing for the Protector Somerset the Rebellion in the West. This left its mark especially in Devon and Cornwall, where he is related to have hanged the Mayor of Bodmin and many more. It was probably as Sheriff of the County of Gloucester that he set up the gibbet at Shepscombe, although it is certain that somewhere in the said Manor the early lords likewise had maintained a gallows. Documents relating to its upkeep will be printed in a later chapter (c. xiii.)

On the surrender of St Peter's Abbey at Gloucester (1540) of which he was Steward, Prinknash House and Park had been rented by him from the Crown until May 14, 1544, on condition that he should preserve annually for the King's use forty deer. He and his father were as we have seen, professional appropriators of rich Abbey lands, in company of Cromwell and the Seymours.[1] But at the above date an interesting (and for Kingston ominous) change there took place. It became granted to Sir Edmund Bridges son and heir of Sir John Bridges of Coberley in consideration of a marriage to be solemnized between him and the King's ward—Dorothy Braye, great-niece and heiress of that Sir Reginald Braye, who picked up at Bosworth field the fallen crown of Richard III and gave it to Stanley for Henry VII. The latter presently made so adroit and loyal a knight the trusted tutor and guardian of his Princes, Arthur and Henry. His eventual heiress was the aforesaid lady who survived to entertain Elizabeth twice at Sudeley Castle.

On February 9th, 1555, Sir Anthony, as Sheriff of Gloucester superintended together with John, Lord Chandos, constable of Sudeley, and his son Sir Edmund Bridges of Prinknash, the burning at the stake, in Gloucester, of Bishop Hooper. " Care was to be taken that he should not speak either at the stake or on his way to it. He dined at Cirencester the previous day and reached Gloucester at 5 p.m. probably by the Ermine Street. The road, for a mile outside the town was lined with people, and the Mayor was in attendance with an escort to prevent a rescue." (Cf. Froude, *Hist : of England*).[2]

On December 11th of the same year (1555), Sir Anthony became committed to the Tower by the Lords of the Council " upon a contemptuous behaviour and a greate Disorder lately committed in the Parliament House."

[1] Probably it was they who named a portion of Longridge Wood ' Queen's Wood ' and ' Queen's Acre,' as these used to be called, in memory of Anne Boleyn's hunting there with Henry VIII.

[2] A charred stump of the stake at which he was burned is in the Museum of Gloucester. As is well known, Hooper was lodged in Westgate Street.

PRINKNASH PARK HOUSE

facing p. 158

FULHAM
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The Queen, however, caused Sir Henry Bedingfield to take the prisoner to her at Greenwich, and upon his humble submission she set him free. It is likely this may have been helped by the influence of his kinsman, Sir Henry Jerningham, Master of the Horse, who had been lately employed against the Norfolk rebels.

" They have put me in the Tower for their pleasures ; but so shall they never do more," were the words said by Wootton to have been used by Kingston.[1] No sooner was he released thence than he entered into a conspiracy with Sir Henry Peckham, Christopher Ashton, and others, to send Queen Mary forcibly out of England to Philip, and make the Lady Elizabeth Queen. Kingston was to control the western marches with 10,000 men and to cut off Lord Pembroke if he made resistance. He was then to march on London.[2]

This precious scheme was betrayed in March to the Council, with result that Peckham, Throckmorton, Daniel and a dozen more were seized and sent to the Tower. Sir Anthony[3] was arrested perhaps at Painswick and taken to be rigorously examined at *Coberley* Court close-by before *Sir Edmund Bridges* (his former colleague), during two days, who now perforce sent him to London for trial. He knew his fate and died on his way thither, it is thought, by his own hand. Some said that he plunged, horse and man, into the river at Lechlade and was drowned possibly while escaping. Upon his death, at the age of 37 years, he was succeeded in Painswick and Haresfield by his half-sister's child[4] and heiress, Frances, then wife of Sir Henry Jerningham, with whose descendants it remained until 1803 ; the Lodge and

[1] But his suicide, as will be seen, alone prevented this consummation.

[2] We may be sure that whatsoever view ' hearsay ' took of certain of the deceased knight's doings in Gloucestershire, Cornwall and elsewhere, this Queen must have recalled that, however rashly performed, he had risked and lost everything for her cause.

[3] Arms of Kingston, Quarterly 1 and 4 azure, a cross betw : 4 leopards' faces argent ; 2 and 3 ermine betw : a chevron and a chief, a leopard's face, all sable. Supporters, 2 cockatrices.

[4] He left two natural sons : Anthony and Edmund, on whom he settled parts of his estate, including Miserden, by a deed of enfeoffment in 1547, and a daughter, Derrick, who had married in 1551, John Andrews, Esq., of Haresfield. Her marriage occurs in the Painswick Register. Cf. July 15, 1543.

Grant by Hen. VIII. to Rich. Andrews of Hughes and Nicholas Temple in the fee of the said Richard, of the Manor of Harsfeld, which belonged to the late Monastery of Lanthony at Gloucester. Pa. Roll., a. 35, H. VIII. f. 3. m. 17.

July 15, 1543. Grant by Hen. VIII to Ric. Andrews Nic. Temple (in fee of the said R.A.) of lands in tenure of Thomas Loveday and others in Westrode within the Lordship of *Througham* which belonged to the late monastery of *St. Mary Cirencester*. P.R. a. 35. H. VIII. p. 3.

Same date. A Grant of *Combe house* (Edge), *Paynswick*, in the tenure of Thomas Gardener and Agnes, his wife, and Richard, his son 10s. rent. The farm of a messuage 40s. p. 3. m. 17. and a stone Quarry (Prior's Quarr.) 3s. 4d. p.a.

360 acres being then reserved to the vendors second son. In addition to succeeding Sir Anthony at Painswick, owing to his wife's kinship and inheritance, Sir Henry, former Master of the Horse, became chief Regarder of the Forest of Dene. In both capacities he now made himself responsible to the Queen's Treasury for the debts owed by Kingston thereto for the farm of the Castle and Demesnes of St Briavels and the Forest, and court-leets, dues, etc., in all amounting to £200. This sum he paid we find into the hands of William Marquis of Winchester, the Lord Treasurer, who accordingly witnessed the Queen's letters-patent acknowledging the Quittance.

With the reign of Elizabeth (1558-1603) we become familiar here with newer names such as Oliver, Motley, and Tocknell, which are to-day clinging on as place-names or those of old houses, having been those of hereditary millers or clothiers. And although the Kingstons have vanished long ago we obtain further references to the aforesaid gallows and Jack's Green. William Motley (Anno. 8, Eliz :) holds as a free-tenant a field containing half a yard-land with pasture and a certain parcell of a land by the service of maintaining a gallows for the execution of felons, of making a ladder and halter (capistrum)[1] and acting as Tithing-man, as did his father John Motley [for Sir Anthony Kingston] faithfully, before him. One Giles Knowles, Thomas Niblett, William and Agnes Canton, are fined for playing at tables and cards contrary to the Queen's statute. The Constables are Thomas Clissold and William Kynge of Kings Mill. Neither original Castle Hale nor the homagers Court-House survived; but their respective sites had become occupied by humbler tenements.

A few years later, (1590) Thomas Gardner, a successful mill-owner, among other properties, holds " unam vacuam placeam terræ juxta murum cemiterii pro redditum per annum 2d. et unam parcellam terræ vocatam Courte-Orchard pro redditum per annum 6s. 7d." He held 119 acres in all, including 78 arable and 20 acres of pasture.

The specially interesting fact here given is his tenure of the Court-Orchard, and a waste or vacant spot adjacent to the Cemetery of the church. Before him, (1564), John Osborne held the very same vacant place ' juxta le Courte-Orchard, et etiam vacuam placeam terræ, supra quo dict' le Court-House olim fuit constructa,' a void place once occupied by the Court-House; We are now able to identify the latter, or second plot, as that next the Church-yard stile (formerly, *Castle-Hale-stile*), where an old double-cottage survives, with its well and garden. That is the spot where for centuries

[1] " Be it known that the aforesaid William, John, and Robert Motley tithing-men there (Shepscombe) shall have and enjoy one acre of land one half (? each) in consideration of the fulfilment of their office (*i.e* executioners)."

TOCKNELLS, PAINSWICK

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HOLCOMBE, NEAR EDGE, PAINSWICK

MR WATHEN'S HOUSE, WICK ST. PAINSWICK

the Homagers and customary-tenants with their Reeve attended the Lord's Court Baron and view of Frank-Pledge, presided over, sometimes by the Lord, more often by his Steward or Seneschal. South of that (*in australi parte*), but in line with it down Hale lane, lay yet another garden, beyond the wall, belonging to Margery Whitehorne until 1615. On the then-vacant plot west and behind that (c.) 1600-1 Gardner built his 3-gabled Cotswold Mansion to which the Diocesan Chancellor, John Seaman, LLD., became successor, and to which he added the picturesque south wing. In Addition, in the same year he acquired, by agreements with the tenants, both the gardens, and the Cottage next '*Castle-Hale-stile*,' so as to round off his property and also to obtain a befitting (original) entrance opposite both the bridal-path from Tibby-well (*via* later Gwynffa) and his own front-porch. But of this, later. The modern entrance to the house is from St. Mary Street by the stile, Seaman's former lodge and gateway having been burned.

John Poole has a cottage and garden in New Street. John Wantner has Herings (now Painswick House). Elizabeth Collins has two holdings, one is called ' Holcombe ' and the other ' Collins.' Each has a dwelling-house. Richard Canton has a tenure called ' Vineyard,' evidence perhaps of attempted wine-making here. ' Mandeville's Field '[1] is held by Thomas Mower.

Among important tenants is Roger Lygon[2] (Armiger) who (by Indenture dated a. 8, Eliz : 21 July, otherwise 1566), held a messuage called Martyn's, with Prior's Quarr, Brodemead, Lady Barn, Lady's Mede, Crouches, Pounds, two acres in Washwell, a bleaching mill, and two other quarries, at a rent of £40. In 1572 he acquired a lease of the Parke and the demesne-lands. Later (a. 41, Eliz : 1599) in the reign, Arnold Lygon, his son, takes from Henry Jerningham (jun :) and Eleanor, his wife, a lease in the Manor of ten messuages, two mills, and 20s. rent in Painswick, to have and hold for eighty years after their decease, if the said Henry Jerningham, father of Henry Jerningham (jun.) do so long live, rendering a peppercorn at St Michael's feast. " The said Arnold Lygon hath from the said Henry Jernegan £1,000." His son, John Lygon, JP we shall see, acted as Registrar at Painswick 1653-1656 and was buried in St Mary's Church, Aug. 10, 1656. In the eighth year of Elizabeth (1565) the tenantry of the Manor held 959 arable acres, 266 pasture, and 176 acres in fields, wood and waste = 1,391 in all.

[1] Adjoining Pitchcomb.

[2] This Roger Lygon was probably a nephew of Roger Lygon (whose monument, with Katherine (Buckley), adorns Fairford) and of the Arle Court family, Cheltenham. He would seem to have occupied and resided in the Lodge for several years. Arnold Lygon in 1574 was a tenant of Lord Berkeley at Rolls Court. The Greville marriage early in the same century had acted as a magnet to the younger Lygons drawing them out to the Cotteswolds. Richard Lygon at this time had Matson. (1565). Cf. Trans : B. and G. Arch. Soc : 1891-2, p. 123.

John Gybbins and Agnes Jerden are given license to have, repair, and to use a certain road leading out of the Wick Street ' meet and convenient after the due course of Husbandry,' and they are to make a gate, and to provide a lock and key to the same. The road (Pincot-lane ?) commences at a place called ' Swinfield,' occupied by Joan Blysse, widow, and goes as far as certain land, called Drixton. John Gybbons and Agnes Jerden being under-tenants of Edmund Bridges, Lord Chandos[1] (for the Earl of Shrewsbury). Joan was fined next year (1566) for stopping the said road. This lane leads down to the mill and stream that was Seagrims (latterly, Smalls and Ayers), descending from the Wick Street beyond the well-farm.[2] Lord Chandos held these for the said Earl, who (we have seen), repossessed in 1539 the lands in Painswick granted by his ancestors in the 14th century to their foundation of Flanesford Priory near Goodrich, which included Seagrim's. These were among the so-called Chantry-Lands. Bulcross[3] is mentioned as being near the Frith.

The Lovedays, William and Walter Watkins, and Thomas Horrup, were prominent tenants in the tything of Strode-end, including the Pyllhouse.[4] The Twynnings in long succession, held two mills just below the Knap, or new-town and the *Rackhill* with the *Frith-House* by the wood, and a close called *White-croft*, all near Duddescombe.

It will be of interest to adduce here one other ' Manumissio ' or conversion of a villein or Bondman into a free-man, dating the tenth year of Elizabeth (1567) :

" MANUMISSIO. PAINSWICK.

" 22nd March, a. 10, Elizabeth.

" George Blysse came to the Court of Frank Pledge and showed his manumission in the following form :—

" To all Christian people that shall see this present writing Henry Jernegan, of Payneswick, in the Countie of Gloucester, knyghte, and Lady Francis his wyffe, conveyeth greting in our Lord Godd everlasting. Whereas George Blysse aforesaid, called George Blysse our bondman or vylleyn, the

[1] At Seagrims (*ie* Ayers).

[2] In a memorandum MS attached to the Chantry Certificate (a. 2, Edw. VI.) it is stated " that one Sheephouse and meadow, parcel of the said premises arrented at 20s. by the year, is now detained by Sir Antony Kingston, Kt. by what title they know not." Cf. Hist : St. Mary's Church, p. 33.

[3] This field-name had of old no possessive ' *s* '.

[4] Pilling Bark.

WICK STREET HOUSE (Before Restoration)

facing p. 162

WELL FARM, PAINSWICK (c) 1680

sonne of William Blysse deceased, our bondman or vylleyn, was and is commonly called knowen taken had accounted and reputed prevely and apertely—Know ye that we the said Henry and Frances for certain good and lawfull consideracions us moving, have for us and our heires manumitted and from the yoke of servitude and vylleynage dylyvered and discharged and by this our present deade nowe do manumitt delyver and dyscharge for ever the said George Blysse and his heires of his body and all his sequell and progeny of his body goten or to be goten and all and singular goods catells lands tenements and other perquisites to which he the said George hath or att any time herafter shall gett and have, and ye shall also understand that we the aforeseid Henry and Lady Francis have remysed released and for us and our heires quyte claymed And by these presents do remyse release and quyte clayme to the seid George all his heires sequells and progeny of his body goten or to be goten all manner of reall and personall su(i)ts querells services trespasses debts demands whatsoever they be which we the seid Henry and Lady Frances have had or hereafter shall or may have in anywise against the said George Blysse or any of his heirs sequells or progeny of his body by reason of the vyllenage or servitude aforesaid or by any other cause pretence or color from the beginning of the World unto the day of the date of these presents. So that neyther we the seid Henry and Frances or any of us or one or any other for us in our names, shall or may from henceforth have exact sue clayme demand or any manner of ryghte tytle accord interest of vyllenage or bondage agenst the said George Blysse his heires of his body sequell or progeny goods cattells lands tenements or any of them by writt of our sovereign lady the Quene accom (?) in the Law Sute or otherwise but thereof be clerely excluded and avoyded for evermore by the seid presents And we the seid Henry and Frances and our heires the seid George Blysse with all his sequell and progeny begotten or to be goten agenst all people shall warrant and defend by these presents.

"Dated XXII. day of November of the eleventh year (1568) of the reign of our Lady Quene Elizabeth."

John Gardner is styled Clothier. (a. 10, Eliz:) James Workman, John Gardner, Henry Twinning and others are fined for trespass in the lord's woods after game.

Thomas Horrup is conceded the use of water flowing in a certain field at Ifold. The lord's Seneschal is Richard Carygue[1] (gentleman).

Goods belonging to felons sold in Painswick:

A calf, a horse, 14 sheep, 6 lambs, 45s.

[1] Richard Carick or Carygue. (Cf. Trans: B. and G. Arch: Soc: 1891-2, p. 81).

A bedstead, le flock-bed, 6s. 8d.; le pyllowe, le boulster, duos le blanckettes, le coverlett, tres le pewter dishes, 2 le salt-sellers, 2 le platters, 12 farthings, 3 le stands, 2 le payles, 2 le cowles, a chair, 1 le daysbourde (dice-board), 1 le tab-bourde, le woden quarte, 3 le formes, 1 le sedelopp, 2 le snodes (?), 1 le turne, 1 le boulting-whiche, 1 le hogshead, le presse, le shelfe, le cheserak, le skole, le skope, le saddle, 2 le coffers, le axe et hatchet, 1 falx, 1 le wedge, le pot-hookes, lyniks, 2 le crocks, le cawdron, 2 candelabra, 2 le broches, 1 le cadder, 2 galline, 1 gallus (cock), 1 sow, 2 pugiones cum cultellis (metal spurs) (?), le spokeshaft, 1 wool weight, le wynnowing kype, le bagge, 1 le peyre of tynninge cuffs, 1 le girdle 1 le horse-collar and traces, total value £3.

The felon was John Jakes (a. 4, Eliz :) who was hanged, after trial before Sir Thomas Throckmorton and George Huntly, Esq. JP, but not on Shepscombe gallows.

A house (being in fact the Church-House) is mentioned as ' domum Sancti Johannis '[1] (a. 6, Eliz : 1563/4) Barton's (or Borton's) Mill lies next the Park Poole at Highgrove.Combe-House, in Ham, lies on the lower side of a field called ' Oldfield.' John Osborne rents the vacant place where the Combe-House in Ham (Lantony's) was built formerly.[2] Lullingwell (worth) contains 2½ acres, in tenure of Richard Hilman.

The Park-gate stands close to Bangrove in Washwell (to-day known as 'the Park '). Thomas Blysse died, and the lord exacted as heriot a spade and shovel. His land lay by Wickstreet. His widow Joan was admitted successor. A close called Woosall's Hale[3] in Stroud-end tithing is mentioned (a. 3, Eliz.) on account of a way to be made through it, which has occasioned a controversy between Joan Blysse and Edward Stratford. A water-course had been turned aside by her father in consideration of his paying 2d. per yard to Stratford's father. So the Blysse family had their troubles. Sometimes the heriot is an ox or a bull. Daniel Pearte, is Steward of the Manor. Isabel Gardener holds besides ' Court-Orchard and a void place against the wall of the Cemetery,' Badcombe, Brode Redding, Cleypytte, two acres in Ifold, the house of the late Roger Gardener (husband) and four acres, another house and ground called Cromplyns, a garden near Castel-Hale-stile, &c. Thomas Gardener is her kinsman and Elizabeth is his wife (a. 1, Eliz :) Hence, it is thus obvious the prosperous Gardeners rented all the upper court-orchard long before their grand-children built the present stone house upon it

[1] A Church-House. Thomas Horwood suf. III plaustratos Bosco Domini pro *le Church house*. *Anno* 1. Eliz.

[2] Lying beyond Jenkin's Farm, closer to Edge.

[3] *Hala terræ*, vocatur *Megg's Hale* in a M. Roll (a.6. James 1). This looks as if the term had once been used of a land-measure *a hale of land*, hereabouts ?

(c) 1600 A.D., called, since 1681, the *Court-House*. In 1694 the orchard and garden of Castle Hale retained the name of ' *the Court-Garden and Orchard*,' as is shewn upon the estate map of William Rogers Esq., in the writer's possession. (Cf. Plate). A paven early court still lies under three feet of soil forming the upper garden at Castle Hale with the ancient well, set at one angle of it. The actual site of the Manor-Court House was beside Hale Lane, and today is occupied by the double-cottage, well, and garden at the stile.

Thomas Blysse (2) to whom Arthur, Lord Lisle, gave a pension for services, dies without heirs. He held two cottages in Painswick, and two acres in Ifold (An : 1, Eliz.)

Rev. Lawrence Gase, Vicar, was admitted a customary tenant to a certain house and land in Painswick. (Anno 1, Eliz.)[1] This fact places this vicar a few years earlier in the vicarage than has hitherto been known to be the date of his tenure. Evidently Queen Mary's Vicar had to relinquish his post at her decease, and a new one was instituted.

The name used for the main stream anciently the ' *Leden* '(XIIIth c.) (Reg. A. St Mary de Cirenc^{r}.) is the ' Wyckwater.'

We now (Eliz : a. 5) find the Olivers, Pooles, Gydes, Twynnings, Kynges and Bancknetts much to the front, but the Gardeners, Hamonds, Osbornes, and Pyttes continue to be among the chief tenants, and the Lovedays and Twynnings, the chief millers. Thomas Clynton (Armiger) and William Staple are important holders at Stroud-end. Rev. Lawrence Gase dies (a. 6, Eliz :) before September, 1563, and a house of his called a ' Backsyde ' is vacant in the tything of Sponebed. His holding is claimed by Johanna Roberts, by her free-bench, and she is admitted.

ACCOUNT I.

The accompte of *John Taylor Reve* ther to the Ryght worshipfull *Sir Henry Jernegan Kt.*, and *ladie Franncys his wyffe* for the revenewes of ther *Manor of Payneswick* from the feaste of Seynte Michaell tharcangell in the XIIIth yere of the reigne of our Sovereigne ladie Queene Elizabeth untyll the feaste of the Natyvytye of Seynte John Baptyste the XIIII yere of the reigne of the said Soverigne Ladie, videlt for iii quarters of the yere then ended.

Arrerage. None.

The Charge.

Fyrste the seid accomplaunt chargethe himselfe with the Rents of Assyse of the free and customary tenants and of the chauntery lands for iii quarters of the yere ended at the seid feaste of the Natyvytie of S. John Baptist .. .. lix li. vi s. x d½.

[1] This was Ludlows, which seems to have been the usual Vicarage. Though still so-called until the end of the 18th century, I have been unable to certify its position in the Town : though probably it may have stood where the place called ' Verlands ' (*ie : farlands*) now stands. House rebuilt as Vicarage, c. 1828.

Rents of the Demaynes.

Allso he chargethe himself with the halfe yeres Rent of the Parke and of the demaines ther so called to *Roger Lygon* esquier and payable at ii feasts in the yere that ys up to wytt att St. Mary day and Michaelmas—which halfe yeres Rent was due att St. Mary day in the said XIIIIth yere of Queene Elizabeth .. .. xx li.

Furthermore he chargethe himself with the profitts of one Lawe day and Courte holden ther the xxvth day of Aprill in the seid xiiiith yere of the Queenes Majesties reigne wyth vi s. viii d. for comon fynes wyth xi s. strayes yeres wyth v li. xiii s. iiii d. for the heryotts of Wylliam Gardener deceased beinge ii oxen and ? praysed by the homage with xxii s. iiii d. for the price of one heyfar and for the heryott of William Tunley wyth fynes of land that is to say ; wyth xvi d. for the fyne of Roger Ockford due for one cottage to his use surrendered by Ric. Dobbes by the Rents by yere of iiii d. wyth ii s. for the fyne of Richard Dobbes for one aker of arrable land of the yerely rente of vi d. to his use surrendered by John Taylor cordyner wyth iiii s for the fyne of John Osborne for ii akers of arrable land of the yerely rent of xii d. to his use surrendered by John Osborne And wyth xvis. for the fyne of John Kynge sonn and heyr of John Kynge due upon the surrender of the seyd John Kynge the father to those of John Kynge the sonne beinge one messuage and one ferendell of land by the yerely rent of iiii s. Wyth vi d. for the fyne of Richard Dobbes for one curtelage lyinge in the tythinge of Edge of the yerely rente of 1 d½ to his use surrendered by Roger Okeford and Wyth iiii s. vii d. in amerciaments comethe in the whole to the Sume of

Summa totalis oneris ? .. lxxxviii li. ix s. vii d½.

Profyttes of Courts.

Allowances. Fees. Courts.

Whereof this Accomptaunt prayethe Allowance of his fees for iii qrs. of the yere : xxvi s. viii by yere that is to saye for iii. qrs. of the yere .. .. .. xx s.

Item for the cost of one Laweday and Courte then holden within the clause of this accompte .. .. xv s. viii d.

Item the seyd accomptaunt askethe allowance of xv li. by him payd to thands of John Dereham as by his acquittance dated ye xxvith of Aprill A° xiiii Elizabeth Regine may appere .. .. xv li.

Item of more money paid by the Accomptaunt to thandes of John Dereham as by his acquittance dated the xxth day of June A° Regine Elizabeth xiiii may appere xv li —— of xxxv paid by this Accomptaunt to the (hands) ? of Roger Lygon esquier as by his Acquittannce dated the xxth day of August A° xiiii Elizabeth Regine may appere xxxv l.

Summa Allocationis .. .. lxvi li. xv s. viii d.
And so he oweth thereby .. xxi li. xii s. xi d½.

Whereof

The said Accomptaunt prayeth to be allowed for the charge of the Auditor and of the Accomptaunts att the Auditt of the seid Ladie Fraunces holden att Payneswick the morrow after the feaste of Seynte Symon and Jude A° xiiii to Elizabeth Regine xx s.

Summa .. .. xx s.
And so he owethe .. .. .. xx li. xiii s. xi d½.

Which xx li. xiii s. xi d½ the seid accomptaunt payd to thands of John Dereham (gent) to the use of my Ladye Jernegan as by his acquittance dated the iiid day of Decembre 1572 A° xv. Elizabeth Regine may appere and so he ys even.

Et quietus est.

ACCOUNT II (*Wood Sales*).

The Accompte of *John Osborne* and *Thomas a'Meyer*, Woodwards ther, for such wodd as they have sold this yere videlt from the feaste of Seynte Mychaell tharchangell in the xiiith yere of the reigne of our sovereigne ladye Queene Elizabeth untyll the

Arrerage. None.

Fyrste the seyd Accomptaunts do charge themselves with Wodd sold in the *Ffrythe* nexte Duddescombe as apperethe by a pyrtycler booke thereof by the seyd accomptaunts made and to these presents annexed.

Summa .. .. xlviii l. xi s.
Item of Wodd sold by the seyd Accomptaunts this present yere in a certain place called Cudhyll as appereth, &c. .. .. xxxvii s. iiii d.
Item do. do. in a certain Coppys otherwyse called Detcombe in Payneswycke as by their book, &c. .. .. vi li. vii s. viii d.
Item do. do. in a certain Wodd called Longerudge .. .. xlv li. x s. x d.
Item of Wodd solde in Payneswycke Parke this present yere as by &c., &c. xlvii s. ii d.
Item of Wodd solde in Harsfeld Wodd as &c. .. .. xxx s.
Item do. in the Redge, &c., &c. .. .. vii li. xvi d.
Item d. d. in a certain Wodd called Kymesbury this present yere as &c. xxv li. vi s. x d.
Item more Wodd sold, &c., in a certain wood called Rownams (*Ebworth*) viii li. xvi s.
Sum of the whole Charge .. .. cxlvii li. viii s. ii d.

ALLOWANCE

Fyrst the said Accomplants do pray allowance for their lyveryes for eyther of them this present yere. .. .. xx s.
Item of money payd by them to thands of John Dereham gent the viiith Feb. a° xiiii &c. lx li.
Item more money payd by the seyd Accomptaunts to thands of John Dereham the xxvith of Apryll A° xiiii to Eliz. Regine 1572, as by his acquittance of that date apperethe xl li.
Item more money payd to thandes of Roger Lygon Esquier the xxth daye of Auguste in the xiiith yere, &c., as by his acquittance, &c. .. .. .. xx li.
Item to John Battye for one thousand of large pales for Payneswycke Parke .. c s.
Item payd to John Battye for pullynge of the seyd pales from the water .. xx d.
Item for the charge of meate and drinke at the carryinge of the seyd pales from Gloucester beinge x Wayne lodes .. .. vi s.
Item pd. to Roger Heyward for the mendynge of the coppyce hedge att Harsfeld Woods vi s. viii d.
Item pd. to Ryc. Wylliams for loppinge of the Wodd that was sold in the Parke ii s. iiii d.
Item pd. for 100 yrds. of grey ffryce sent up to my ladye .. .. iiii li. iii s. vi d.
Item pd. to Thomas Loveday for the caryage of the same ffrice to London ii s. iiiid.
Item ffor the charges of the seyd John Osborne one of the seyd accomptaunts for his journey into Norfolk to my ladye concernynge dyvers matters .. xvi s.
Summa allocat' .. .. cxxxi li. xviii s. vi d.
And so they owethe thereby .. xv li. ix s. viii d.
Wych xv li. ix s. viii d. the seyd accomptaunt pd. to thands of John Dereham, Gentleman, the third of Decembre in the xvth yere of the reigne of our Sovereigne ladie Queene Elizabeth as by his acquittance, &c., may appere. And so this Accomptaunt ys quyte.

Et quieti . . . . sunt.

ACCOUNT III.

[Account with various miscellaneous items relating to Tewkesbury Park and Gloucester Castle.]

The Accompte of *Ric. Carigue* servaunt to the Right Worshypfull ye *lady Frauncys Jernegan* (wydowe), of suche revenues and somys of money as the sayd Richard hathe receaved to thuse of her worshyp from Mychaellmas in the xiiith year of the reigne of our Sovereigne ladie Queene Elizabeth unto the seyd ffeast in the xiiiith yere of he Grace reigne vdt. for one whole yere.

THE CHARGE.

Fyrste he chargethe himself with money receaved of the Queenes grace, receaved of Gloucestershere in May 1572 for the half yeres ffees due to his master Syr Henry—Jernegan Knyght att thannuntiacion of our blessed ladie laste paste for the half yere then ended. .. .. xv li.
Item of Mr Harford by thands of Thomas Perkins his servaunt for the rent of Tewkesbury Parke due at Seynt Mary day for the half yere then ended viz. the xxth of Apryll A° 1572 .. .. lix li. iii s. iiii d.

Item Mr More for his rent and Mr Restells for the Castell medowe of Gloucester due for the seid half yere .. .. vi li. xiii s. iiii d.
Item of Mr More for parcell of the seyd castell due for the said half yere vi s.
Item of Mistress Messenger for suche parte of the Castell as she holdeth for the rent then due .. .. vii s. vi d.
Item receaved of Richard Hallynge for his fyne of the messuage and lands that Margery Graynger widowe holdeth in Whaddon .. .. xxx li.
Item receaved of the Reeve of Payneswyck for the alowinge of his accompte the xxviith of Octobre, 1572 .. .. xvi d.
Item more receaved by Ric. Harford esquier by thandes of Thomas Perkyns for the rent of Tewkesbury parke due att Michaelmas ..1572.. .. lix li. iii s. iiii d.

Sum of the Charge.

clxx li. xiiii s. x d.

Whereof payed to the receiver for portage v s. and to his clerk ii s .. .. vii s.
Item for my costs att Syssetor att the Audytt .. .. iii s. iiii d.
To Mr Savage for the keepers wages of Corse laund as by his byll annexed viz. for this halfe yere .. .. c s.
To Mr Dereham to my Mistris use as by his bill annexed dated the xth May 1572 lx li.
Item paid to Mr Roger Lygon the xxvth of Octobre in the xiiiith yere, &c., for his fee for the whole yere ended att Michaellmas, as by his letter dated the xxith of Octobre hereunto annexed apperethe .. .. vii li. x s.
Item to Mr Tunley for his fee for the whole yere ended .. .. .. xl s.
Item more delyvered to Ric. Dorney uppon a byll of his hand to my ladies' use liii s. iiii d.
Item for a messengers labour that went for th' accomptaunts to cum to Tewkesbury to pay the money to Mr Dereham .. .. xii d.
Item for my whole yere's fee and lyvery .. .. cx s.
Item for money to be given in my ladye's Almes this yere to the poore people in Tewkesbury .. .. xxxiii s. iiii d.
Item paid to th'ands of Mr John Dereham the iiiith day of Decembre 1572 a. xv. Eliz. Regine .. .. xx li.

Summa Allocis. .. .. ciiij li. xviii s.
Et sic debet .. .. lxv li. xvi s. x d.

CHAPTER XIII.

PAINSWICK 1557—1615.

A CHURCH-HOUSE — LIFE IN PAINSWICK — DEARTH — THE SEAMANS AND THEIR HOUSE — THE JERNINGHAMS — LITIGATION — REVISION OF THE CUSTOMS — INCREASED PROSPERITY OF THE COPY-HOLDERS.

IN the ninth year of Elizabeth we find mentioned the Church House as in North Street (perhaps George Street ?) situated beside two granaries (*Horrea*). Earlier mentions of this Church House gave us its dedication as Domus Sti Johannis, *ie* House of St. John, recalling the fact that the Convent of Llantony at Gloucester, which had so long owned the Advowson at Painswick, bore the double Dedication to St Mary and St John. It is pretty sure to have stood on the north edge of the Church-yard.

The following facts are derived from Court-rolls :—

William Corbett (probably the former Chantry-Priest of this name), holds by Copy (dated a. 31 Henry VIII.) a cottage and garden by the Church-Style. There is a white cross in Wash-well, as well as a pyke-gate. Elizabeth Chambers has a cottage next ' The Butts ' in Ham, called Hachinsmore. We have already mentioned Hambutts as having been referred to in documents of 1430. John Merriman, likewise, has a cottage and garden ' infra *le Butts* ' (within the Butts), *ie*, the abutments. Elizabeth Collins holds ' Collins ' and ' Holcombe,' two houses. John Mylls has ' Damsels,' ' Hallcrofte,' ' Rye-croft,' a fishweir, and Wysals Grove. Brook-house belongs to Walter West; Salmons to Thomas Shewell, with a mill. *Thomas Twinning* lives at the *Frith-house* (query, the far later Pan's Lodge ?). The well in the field next Lullingworth is called Lulling-well. A cottage next ' the Grove ' is called, after a previous owner, ' Pallings,' spelt, also, ' Pawlyns.' Pyll-house and Rogers are tenanted by Walter Watkins. There are two void spaces in Painswick ; one is called ' The Green-Lay,' and the other is the site of the old Manor-Court house, which is held as a garden by John Osborne, by Copy of court-Roll, dated Sept. 6, 1557. *Green-house belongs to John Twinning.* Le

Syches,[1] in Washwell, is referred-to. There is another Cross, called Limbrick's Cross, in Hawfield.

Walter Tocknell has ploughed up and diverted a green-way leading to Cranham. He is to replace it. Dec., 1607. William Collins, butcher, is fined for selling meat unfit for human food. The Beer-vendors are allowed to sell a wine-quart of ale for ½d., as well within the house as without it, but they may not sell flat-ale at the same price. The Baker is to sell two loaves for a penny. The Gardners and Lovedays are the chief wool-men.

The following facts are more grim :[2] William Motley continues his office of Executioner, and keeps in repair, at Shepscombe, the Gallows, halter, and ladder belonging thereto, by which service he holds of the Lord, an acre, a messuage, and a half-yard land, This should be ' Jacks ' acre at Shepscombe. Richard Loder late of Painswick, having been hanged at Gloucester for sheep-stealing, his goods are sold, consisting of a bed-stead, two payles, one barrell, two pieces of pewter, &c. Agnes Angus is ordered to mend her hedge between her garden and the Court Orchard. The Public springs, Washwell, Toby-well (Tibby-well), and one in Friday street are strictly supervised.

A foot-path from Pitchcombe to Strode passed across lands held by John Osborne of Seagryms called Bridesmead, Maple-mead, and Middle-leaze. He denies it to be a right-of-way. Arbitrators, having heard both sides, declare that a path ought to exist there. John Bourne exchanges with Thomas Davys a close called Church-close, at a spot called, commonly, The Lane, near Wick Street. Thomas Clissal holds 96 acres, including Wades, in Stroud-end.

The acres held by the tenantry were : 959 Arable ; 266 Pasture ; 176 Meadows.

Sir Henry Jerningham and the Lady Frances are Lord and Lady of the Manor, but they have leased it to Roger Lygon for £40 by the yere. However, their close ties with the place and the county are never forgotten and messengers go to and from Cossey in Norfolk to Painswick. " Item, a reward is given to Thomas Arundell for going to Cossey Dec. 4th, 1567, with certain books, in consideration of the bringing from thence a gelding borrowed by Mr Dereham of Thomas Cotts and to pay for the seyd geldings mete by the waye homeward xvi s. iiii d." Item, given in Almes by my masters commandement

[1] ME. a boggy spring in a field. Cf EDD. and Pl. Names of Glos.

[2] " Pro servicio construendi patibulum cum executio sit aliquibus fellonum." His brothers John and Robert held their tenements of the same service. They may enjoy 1½ acres of land " *in consideratione executionis officii sui.*" This is no doubt the Gallows set up by *Sir Ant. Kingston* when Lord both of the Manor and of *the 7 hundreds* of Cirencester. These gallows went out of use soon, and we have no actual instance of usage.

LOVEDAYS MILL 1829, AND OLD HOUSE

facing p. 170

CASTLE HALE (1829) COURT HOUSE AND CHURCH

unto six pore persons in Payneswicke, that is to say to Ric. Wynston, Thomas Ailridge, Tho. Waterman, Tho. Pourte, Alice Luter, and instede Edward Browne (now decessed) unto John Astye either of them VI s. and viii d and the pore people within the parish of Payneswicke xx s." Further gifts are similarly made to the poor of Haresfield, of Moreton Valence and Tewkesbury of xxxiii s. and iiii d.

Thomas Duck (Bailiff) is to replace, as it was before he altered it, the water-course in Hazle-hanger Dell (1558) John Ayldridge[1] is to put in order his hedge between Vicar's Hill and the Vicar's Barn at Washwell, within eight days, or be fined xd. John Knowles is described as a Clotheman.

Besides their Manors of Painswick, Morton, and Whaddon, the Jerninghams derived yearly rent from Epney pool fishery in the Severn, and rich rents from the mills and certain demesne lands in Gloucester lately in the occupation of John Webbe. They repair a stone bridge at Whaddon and build one in Shott furlong at Epney. In addition they receive rent for " the Castle medowe in Gloucester and of Pope the brewer two yeres rent customary called " *Castell Cowle*."

Later in the long reign—at first an increasingly prosperous period for the Manor—we find the same tenant-families holding, for the most part, the same properties. Nevertheless, in 1596-7 there befell a great dearth, probably caused by a far-spreading murrain among the sheep and cattle, and Painswick suffered severely like its neighbours.—" Oppressed with such number of poore, miserable people that there could be no reliefe for some." Many of the Mills had to dismiss their hands and close, besides the loss of wages to those who washed and sheared the animals. The Gardeners,[2] chief mercers by trade, were nevertheless sufficiently rich to be building a three-gabled house west of the long-vacant site of the Court House of the Manor, that land and site being now held as Copyhold from the Lord. Thomas Pytte, likewise, was re-building his house at Castle Hale, the site of which, together with 30 acres of land, had been held as copyhold by his forebears for above a century.

At Edgworth, (still held as of Painswick), George Ralegh, Esq. and his son, Edward Ralegh, held the Manor, as the last eight generations of their ancestors had done (Cf. Pedes Finium, a 44 Eliz., Vol. XVII., p. 198, Trans. Brist. &

[1] *Vatch* : messuage and field, one of the lands described as ' *Thirteens* ' is mentioned in 1616 as belonging to Agnes *Aldridge*, widow of Henry A. (Strode-end) Richard A, is son and heir. In 1552 ' *Vaches* ' was held by *Edward Freme*.

[2] *Damsels mill* at the bottom going to *Shepscombe* and the Lodge now belonging to H. Herbert, bears *E. G.* incised within a shield, 1614 : that is for *Gardner, Will : Osborne* held *Haslehanger* pasture thereabouts, in 1617.

Glos. Arch. Soc.) As the litigation between John Myll and his sons and Henry Sturmy, concerning their respective rights to certain pasture lands at Ebbworth formerly belonging to the Abbey of St Peter at Gloucester, is fully referred to in the History of the Church of St Mary, Painswick, it need not be dilated upon here except to recall that it was decided before the Right Hon. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and is to be found in the *Proceedings of the Court of Chancery* (p. 202). Its main object was to establish right of Common. The mention of North-bury field (*ie* North-barrow) is interesting,[1] and this applies also to Woobwell and Gatley, though the writer has been unable to identify the latter localities. Woobwell is however, described as being on the north side of Ebbworth. There is also referred to " the way that goeth to Gloucester ; Stone Hill in all the north part of the way." This should refer to the road from Ebbworth to Portway.

The Rogers family (from Dowdeswell), afterwards of Castle Hale, appear at this time to be rising in local importance representing a younger branch of the *Dowdeswell Manor* Family. Thomas Rogers, a son of *Richard Rogers* (d. 1609) by Alice Pulton (d. 1615) succeeded R. Carick as Steward, under whom he had probably become qualified for responsibilities.

In 1608 license is granted to *John King* to rebuild his House called *the Sheephouse*, and Barn : which having been disroofed " are scarce habitable by reason of tempest and great wind." He pays 13s. 4d. From the forebears of this man *the Mill* close to the Sheephouse now *Kingsmill* took name in the early XVth cent. (Hen. VI.)

A person of note at this time in the Diocese of Gloucester was John Seaman, LLD. presently its Chancellor. As his father (who died Nov. 6, 1604) was a Woollen-Draper in Chelmsford, then living at Panfield Priory in Essex, it is possible that Seaman became first acquainted with Painswick through the parental commerce. That he may have come here purely on Diocesan business is, however, more likely ; but he did not obtain as his residence the new mansion of the prosperous Gardeners, after his time called Court-House, until 1615.[2] For, on Dec. 24, a. 4 James I (1607), Thomas Gardener, the elder, surrendered the messuage (built by him) and demesne which he has ' from and in ' a close called the Court-Orchard, (or part of the lord's home-demesne), containing three acres, more

[1] From this *barrow*, now all but obliterated (1921) came hand-made pottery, with thumb-marks around rim, and a fine heavy *muller* (pebble), given lately to *the museum* at *Gloucester*. It was a round barrow. Mr C. Davis gave these remains to me, but I found flints abundant (in 1909) on the site.

[2] *Dr Seaman* never called it *Court-House* even in his Will ; but merely " my new stone-mansion." In 1694 the orchard at Castle Hale is called Court-Orchard on the Terrier made for William Rogers, Esq., and its garden '*the Court-Garden*.'

or less, rented at 4s. and 4d. per annum, into the hands of the Lord (there was no heriot upon it), to the use and profit of Thomas Gardener, his son, who presently passed it on to his brother, John Gardener, paying a fine of £1 12s. 8d. The property had not then the precise extent which it has now; for, between its boundary-wall east and Hale-Lane had stood the small Court-House used for manor-courts occupying part of a strip fifty-three yards long NS. This strip in part had remained in the lord's hands: tho' part had been rented off to John Osborne as far back as 1557 as a *vacuam placeam* upon which the Court-House *quondam constructa fuit*. But during the next generation one portion was occupied by the cottage of John Whitehorne, and with that went a garden. South of that lay another garden, without cottage, and it remained in the lord's lands. Dr Seaman, in 1615, projecting manifold additions to his House and Garden, felt also the need of gaining a nobler approach to his main central door from Hale Lane and a path leading thither from Tibbiwell, so, to round off his property, he came to terms with Margery Whitehorne for her cottage and garden, and with the steward of the Lord of the manor for his master's strip of garden next it on the south side. He then came to the Manor-Court of Dec. 19, 1615 (a. xiv. Ja. 1) paid the imposed fine of 2s. and 4d. and became admitted tenant of '*unum cotagium et gardinum ejus adjacentem super quo le Court-House quondam constructa fuit, et unum alium gardinum adjacentem in australi* (*South*) *parte* (*side*) *predicti tenementis*.

It thus becomes clear that no more convenient site than the former of these could have been chosen for the local Courts. It was near the older residence of the lords, at the *Hale*: it stood next the Churchyard, and easily accessible. That it became disused was due probably, both, to its small dimensions and to the appropriation of St. Peters Chapel to the lord of the manor (c) 1540, wherein the said courts came to be held. Dr Seaman appears later to have built upon the other site a typical gabled lodge with a round-arched door to it, and a pillared gate in line with his central front door across a square lawn. At this period, therefore, he acquired and fully settled into the recently-built house of the Gardeners,[1] at the same time purchasing various fields and farms, and cottages, both at Painswick, Pitchcombe, and Wythington, in this County. In his Will he only calls the residence 'my new dwelling Mansion House at Painswick.' It was certainly not called the Court-House until 1681, and we now see the reason why. The writer's conclusion as to his coming to settle at Painswick is that it was due to the part he took in adjustment of the Suit at Law between

[1] It is certain that the prosperity of the head of this family had undergone a serious decline, caused by his having headed a levy from his fellow tenants in order to carry on the expensive litigation at Westminster against the Manor-lord.

the customary tenants of this Manor and their Lord in 1614-15, before the Court of Chancery. His daughter, Mary, was baptised at Painswick, Jan. 5, 1615. This is the earliest date marking his residence here : and on Feb. 1, he signed the ' Exemplification of the Enrollment of a Decree made in the High Court.' He died, June 30, 1623, or six months before the Decree was confirmed, his Will being dated Oct. 7, 1622. A copy of this latter document (which I owe the sight of to Mr Ellis Marsland, the owner of Court House) tells us that he leaves £5 to the poor of Painswick, and that if his son, Samuel Seaman, marries, he desires him and his wife to live in ' the new Mansion House.'

In 1614, then, had befallen a critical dispute between the Lord of the Manor and his tenants. It was one typical of the period. The value of the land was much enhanced, and the Lord naturally desired to benefit by the fact.

The main ground of the difference here between the Lord and his tenants was an alleged grave infringement of certain time-honoured customs of the Manor on the part of Henry Jerningham, the younger,[1] the acting Lord, to the prejudice of his tenants. These latter felt the firm ground quaking beneath their feet,[2] and desired a reliable settlement by means of legal mediation between themselves and their Lord, so as to preclude all prejudice to their interests in the Manor and its customs for the future. They felt this all the more acutely because differences between themselves and Henry Jerningham had already occurred in 1585 (28 Eliz.), which, however, had led to satisfactory agreement. The main point of the new difference arose concerning the wardship and custody of the lands of Infants (under 21 years) to whom any customary estate or copyhold lands did usually descend upon the death of ancestors. The Lord had declared that he ought to have the wardship and custody of such infants, and, by virtue of this wardship, that he might grant out their lands during their said minority. The tenants of the Manor, on the other hand, declared that the immemorial custom of Paynswick Manor

[1] 1604. License to *Sir Hen. Jerningham* (Senior) to travel for one year to the *Spa* (Belgium). He was suffering from Rheumatism, vertigo, and melancolia : and was advised by *Dr Lancelot Brown* and *Martin Schovers*, physicians to the King and Queen, to go thither.

In 1608 we meet with Licenses also for *Wm. Dutton* of Sherborne, Co. Glouc. and *Thomas Warneford* of Sevenhampton, to go to ' Spa-Wells.'

[2] " The oppressed tenant knew where his remedy lay, and was exceeding apt at discovering the same, to his lord's confusion. If evidence of the customs to which he appealed existed, it was sure to be forthcoming, and when produced it was equally certain to receive due recognition at Law. Every free tenant had the counterpart of his lease, and every copy-holder his copy of Court-Rolls, both sufficient title-deeds against the mere rapacity of their Lords."—H. Hall, Elizabethan Society, p. 30.

had been that this wardship and custody belonged not to the Lord, but to the next of kin, until the said heir should be of full age.

Henry Jerningham (the younger), therefore, put forth his claims to the wardship and custody of the lands of one William Barnes and began regranting them, the said William Barnes being then but ten years of age. Thereupon, Giles Carter, who was his stepfather, and Agnes, his mother, put forth counter-claims. It should be stated that Henry Jerningham, had had the Manor made over to him by his father during the latter's life-time, and he probably took too-old-fashioned a view of the seignorial privileges.[1]

In their answer, Henry Jerningham and Thomas Neast, Esq. (his representative) stated that during the minority of any infant to whom any copyhold lands of the said Manor did descend by the death of his ancestors the Lord of the said Manor ought to have the wardship and custody of the said lands. The tenants, while formulating their opposed opinion as a grievance, complained that all the documents relating to the Customs, &c., of the Manor, were out of their reach, being actually in possession of the defendants.

The result of this was that a Commission was appointed to examine an Indenture made in 1592 (a. 34 Eliz.), between Henry Jerningham, the Elder, and his tenants—as well as witnesses for both sides. This Commission presently resolved itself into a special committee consisting of Mr Thoresby, a Master of the Court of Chancery, Mr John Bridgeman, and Mr Coventry, Counsel for the respective parties, who, between them, should examine all the Court Rolls as well as copies held by the tenants, and also the depositions of the witnesses. It must be stated, to the credit of all parties in this Manor, that the best spirit prevailed between them, rendering the prospect of future accommodation promising.

THE DEFF^nts PRETENCES. OBJECTIO 1. [Fragment, 1614, showing some of the respective points of friction.]

[Chronicle Abstract of Office.

THE TENANTS stand much upon an old roll which they call the Lord Talbot's roll, supposed to be made at a court, holden Anno Domini, 1400, by John, Lord Talbot, Erle of Shrewsbury, wherein he graunted to them divers annuities and released many service untill then used. But the Roll hath bene justlie suspected to have bene forged, there being no Court-Roll nor other record to warrant the same. The reasons of the suspition are :

That Lord Talbot were not created Erle of Shrewsbury until 20 H. VI. (1441/2), which was 40 yeares after.

[1] It must be borne in mind that since the then recent Reformation a great and improving change in the relationship of the tenants to the land had set in. "Land was no longer regarded as a military or labour fee, but as a serious industry and profitable investment. For half a century a violent land-fever raged in town and country." (Cf. Hall, Society in the age of Elizabeth, pp. 26–7). "The great object of the Copy-holder being to obtain at any cost a freehold in his tenure to the extent, at least, of an estate of inheritance ; and that of his lord to benefit by the greatly enhanced value of the land." id—

The Manor at that time was in dower to (the lady) Ankaretta, sometime wife of Richard, Lord Talbot, who died tempore R. II.

[The customes] pretended to be then [made, were made] long after, and many of them are still in force, and have been ever.

. . . . there made between them . . . .

RESPONSIO. Whereunto the pl(aintiff) doth answere

That Mr Jernegan, the elder, was but tenant in tayle . . .

That the fine acknowledged by him 34 Eliz : was . . .

That he was then ignorant of the customes, and was . . . therefore

That there was no valuable consideration given but was done in consideration of love.

That the tenants are no corporation, and, therefore, should have bene particularly named, whereas the indenture is made betwene Henry Jernegan, the elder, and the then tenants in general, not naming any, of which tenants, being then 200 at the leaste, there are not now X living that subscribed to the counterpart of the Indenture.

That there is not in the Indenture, covenant, nor word, for the releasing any ancient customes or creating any [new ones] only he doth ratifie and confirm the articles following to be and remayne as customes, whereof some are repugnant to the law, some tend to the destruction of the mannor, and others are unreasonable direct, and contrary to the true and auncient customes of the said mannor, as by all the Courte Rolls, until the making of the said Indenture, it doth evidently appeare.

Altho' the Defendants have made prooffe of these pretended customes in the sute, wherein they are plaintiffs (prove patet / as it appears) in the brief of that cause, which depositions are by order to be used in this cause.

1. That the defendants have combyned (with) THOMAS GARDNER, Mercer, B 18 int. 6, 7, 8, by writing to levy money to mainteyne suit with the complaynant. The copie of the writinge which is proved by those witnesses.

2. The Conveyance of the Mannor 34 Eliz : to the use of Henry Jernegan, the elder, for lief, the reversion to the pl(ace) for his lief. Proved by — The Deed / Thomas Ridley / B. 1, mt. 2, 3.

3. That Henry Jernegan, the elder, demised the Mannor to Richard Barkley and Wm. Norwood for 40 yeares. — The Deed / Richard Carick, B. 4, inter 9 / Wm. Osborne, C. 7, inter 4

4. That Mr Barkley and Mr Norwood assigned their tenure to the place. — The Deed / Ri. Carick, B. 4, int. 9 / Th. Norwood, B. 14, int. 5

The finding was to the effect that owing to 'unskilful penning,' the Indenture had given rise to misinterpretation thereof, calling for explanation. This process it was found necessary to apply to several Articles of the Indenture ; especially those regarding the Demesne Lands and the Chantry Lands, and Wickeridge Hill, all of which had, more or less, been long granted out,[1] since the Reformation, to hold by Copy, but concerning which the Lord of the Manor entertained considerable, and certainly warrantable, doubts.

Another question had arisen likewise for settlement between the tenants

[1] Cf. Hist. of the Church of St. Mary, Painswick, for names of the holders.

and the Lord—namely, touching the fines to be paid to the Lord upon any exchange of land made among the tenants. " We find that the said tenants have used to make such exchanges paying for every acre to the Lord of the said Manor for his Fine, the sum of four pence, which rate we hold meet should be ratified, allowed and confirmed for ever. These things being so digested, we moved the tenants that they would be content to raise among them some reasonable sum of Money, to be bestowed on their land-lord for his favour and good-will, which they very dutifully and lovingly yielded unto, and upon our motion did agree to pay unto him the sum of one thousand four hundred and fifty pounds ; that is to say, five hundred and fifty pounds at, or before, the fifth day of December now next coming ; four hundred and fifty pounds upon the fifth day of December, which shall be in the year of our Lord God, 1614, at the Church Porch of Payneswicke ; and four hundred and fifty pounds residue upon the fifth day of December, which shall be in the year of our Lord God, 1615, at the place aforesaid ; which money we have wished, and the said Mr Jerningham hath undertaken, shall be bestowed in such sort that the benefit thereof may redound, not only to himself, but to his wife, who hath a jointure in the said Manor, and to his son and heir, John Jerningham, in whom we find the Inheritance of the said Manor, expectant upon his father's death, is by good conveyance settled ; and the said tenants have likewise assented that, whereas by the said Indenture it is declared that they ought to have the Herbage and Pannage of the common woods, common hills, and wastes of the said Manor ; and it standeth proved by witnesses that they ever enjoyed the same, and the Lord hath been wholly excluded thereof. The Lord of the said Manor, for the time being, may, for the better breeding and increase of wood, inclose one full third part of all the woods and woodgrounds of the said Manor which do now lie open, and in common saving the waste ground called Sponebed-hill, alias Kimsbury-Hill,[1] or Hawking-hill, whereof he may inclose five and twenty acres in such places and manner as the same parts so to be enclosed have been lately set out by the Lord and tenants ; and that the said Lord may keep the same parts so inclosed from time to time, according to the Statutes in that behalf ; and, also, that the Lord of the said Manor, for the time being, shall have common with the said tenants in the waste and commonable grounds aforesaid, after the rate and proportion of two yard lands, and no more, for the land the said Lord now hath, and for such lands as the Lord of the said Manor shall hereafter happen to have

[1] Kynimers-Barrow. In a View of Frank Pledge a. 4. Ja. 1 (1607/8) it is ordered that no one henceforth shall keep sheep or animals of any kind on the Hill " quo usque ultimum tumulum abinde asportatur " nor shall any keep above 80 sheep for 1 yrd land : penalty 10s.

common, after such rate and proportion as the tenants of the said Manor have, or shall have, wherewith the said Mr Jerningham is well contented : in respect of all which we hold it meet, if it shall so seem meet, to this honourable Court that the said Indenture with such explanations, alterations, and additions as are before set down, &c., should be Ratified by the Decree and Authority of this honourable Court, against the said Henry Jernegan (Jerningham), the elder, and Henry Jernegan (Jerningham), the younger, and Elinor, his wife, and John Jernegan (Jerningham), his son and heir apparent, &c."

Then follows a Schedule containing the names of the Copy-holders of the Manor of Painswick, and what sums everyone of them is to pay for their several tenements and at what times, according to the Report of Henry Thoresby, Esq., one of the Masters of the High Court of Chancery, John Bridgeman[1] and Thomas Coventry, Esq., made in the Court of Chancery, Nov. 27, 1614 (a. 11 James I.) (For this see Appendix). To this Deed the said gentlemen subscribed their names.

On February 1st of the following year (1615) was issued " an Exemplification of the enrollment of this Decree of the High Court of Chancery between Henry Jerningham and the customary tenants of his Manor." This was made at the request of William Osborne and Edmund Fletcher,[2] and other tenants of the Manor, and it is signed by John Seaman, Doctor of Civil Law (then living in the house, since 1681 called the Court House, which he had acquired, as we have seen, from Thomas Gardner), and examined by Mathew Carew and John Home, Clerks. (Cf. The Customs of the Manor, &c., by Thomas Croome, Stroud, N.D. p. 58).

Thus, then, the whole of the Customs of this Manor were explained settled and confirmed by a Decree of the Court of Chancery, and enrolled and exemplified under the Great Seal, and ultimately they were ratified (1624) by an Act of Parliament passed expressly for that purpose. Some which were regarded as not unquestionable Customs, nevertheless, became retained as local laws or regulations, and forming the absolute settlement of the position of the lord to his tenants in this Manor, while establishing their titles to their estates therein upon fixed conditions.[3]

If the position of the Elizabethan Copy-holder was independent and prosperous compared to that of his predecessors, that of his successors in the reign of the Stuarts was still more so.

It is perhaps significant of the expenses incurred, that we find Henry

[1] Afterwards (Sir John) owner of Prinknash Park. c. 1629, (d. 1638).

[2] of Cudhouse.

[3] A friend writes : ' This embodiment of the Customs of a Manor was of *very* rare occurrence. There is no other instance of it in this county.'

Jerningham selling Haresfield Manor in 1616 to Richard Beard ; and Thomas Gardener parting with his new 3-gabled stone mansion. The Suit was no doubt costly, and the younger Gardener likewise parted with Castle Hale to Robert Rogers of Dowdeswell, at the same date.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DAYS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I. (CONTD.) — THE CLOTH TRADE — THE SIEGE OF GLOUCESTER.

ALTHOUGH Court-Rolls and Registers, Church-Wardens' accounts, and kindred documents are duly regarded as dry-as-dust, we may here and there derive from them lively and valuable touches suggestive of the habits and customs of our forefathers. That gruesome object the scaffold was still with them at Shepscombe,[1] looked after with its perquisites by the family of Davies ; but by 1620 it had passed into the custody of James Tayler and Margery Wastefield. These held ' Tithing-man's Acre ' in fee-simple for the duty of keeping ladder and gallows in order and of placing the noose around necks of condemned felons. The previous year or two had been years of affliction for Painswick, and dilapidations were probably numerous. Even the Pillory and Ducking-stool were found to be out of repair, and were ordered to be put in good condition. It was also considered needful to build a new Stock-House, just without the North Gate of the Cemetery, and it faced East. This was finished in 1628, but was removed in 1840. The war-memorial occupies the site.

Now and then we obtain a glimpse of the Lord of the Manor on his journey from Norfolk (Cossey) to this other manor in Co. Glouc. Secretary Conway (Nov. 14, 1625) receives a report from Robert Throckmorton that on reaching his house at Weston Bucks, there was said to be great resort of persons there by night and training of horses. It proved to be something far simpler. His uncle Sir Henry Jerningham and *his* daughter on their way to Painswick fell sick there and had to remain for some days. A lady of the neighbourhood came, in consequence, daily to see them ; and her well-horsed coach making a great noise upon the stones both at her coming and going away after supper gave rise to the strange rumours.

We obtain some glimpses of minor misdemeanours. John Whiting is

[1] This, again, was *the Gallows* set-up here by *Sir A. Kingston* as Lord of the Seven Hundreds and Sheriff of Glos.

fined for donning a mask in the night-time to the grievous annoyance of his neighbours 'at their own doors.' Giles Arthur is fined for keeping greyhounds, and Thomas Dover (a name well-known at that date in Cotteswold) for keeping spaniels (*Hispaniolas*) to the great injury of the lord's pheasants and partridges. John Knight seems to have been a troublesome person who shot pigeons and tormented them with arrows. John Motley was fined for digging out moles on Kynemesbury Hill. Mrs King, at Ifold, who held by free-bench, was warned against further cutting of hedges in a field called 'The Styrts,' and selling the same. It is almost amusing to find the learned John Seaman fined 6d. for default of Suit of Court.

The old market-hall which occupied the site of the present Gables, supported on 14-inch columns with Tuscan caps, measuring 5 ft. 3 ins. in height, presently made way for dwelling-houses in Friday Street. In front of it was a public fountain. Two of its columns are still standing in site, embodied in the left-hand house of the two. We may mention a few more local items in passing. In 1622 *Cappers Mill* (ie *Cap Mill*, to-day), was owned by *John Beard*. There was also a Rhydding Mill and lower Rhydding (? Washbrook).

Kingstons Leynes lay in Spoonbed, 1619, a watermill called *Salmons* stood at Strode-end : and *Tyllwyck*. There occur Bonage : Bonedge, 1607 (ie *Bunnage*), *Badcombe* : *Badbrook Batcombe Hill*, *Crumplins* ; among other local names, and *Tybbyewell*.

Vicaredge Hill (1608) or *Vicaries*.

The Queens Wood and *Queens Acre :* lay at *Shepscombe* (*cf* Anne Bullen). *Hala* terræ *vocatur megge Halle*, occurs in 1608.

Le shurde,' Sherde. *Salridge Wood*, 1607, et *Craunchhill*. Brown's Green, Symmonds Hall, nr. it, along Wick Street. *Le Freeth*, *Frith-house*. *Cussehorne style*.

Lullingworth and Castle Hale (a new House upon the ancient site) belonged to Robert Rogers (gent.), whose brother, Charles Rogers, married Miss Elizabeth Seaman in Painswick Church (July 30, 1629). Her father, Dr Seaman, had been buried in the Chancel six years before, on June 30, 1623 ; and her mother, Elizabeth (Norton) in August, 1625 ; while her eldest brother had married Anne (?) in 1626. Seaman's Will[1] (Cf. P.C.C., Oct. 7, 1622) had provided for the event rather quaintly : " If it happen my sonne Samuell to marry, that then hee and his wife shall have their habitation in my newe dwelling Mansion-House in Payneswicke, payinge reesonablie for their diet for themselves and their company." Samuel Seaman, however, enjoyed but a brief married life. He died there in 1632, leaving a son by his wife, who

[1] Proved 19 Sept. 1623. Fos. 30.

presently married Mr John Trye of Hardwicke, who came to reside with her at Painswick.[1]

The settlement by Act of Parliament of the ' Customs of the Manor,' confirmed in 1624, no doubt hopefully inspired the more industrious tenants, and made it possible for them to pull more cheerfully through the serious distress in 1619. But for that long period of severe depression the cloth-trade had brought Painswick, like Camden and Northleach, to well-sustained prosperity. There were no less than 1500 looms in the county of Gloucester, and wool was cheap ; but the Clothiers found themselves in rough water owing to the unreasonable impositions laid upon cloth by the merchant-adventurers and to the developments of their trade in other lands. The latter declared that there was store of good cloth over-sea which was selling at a cheaper rate than the highly-rated cloth at home. The merchants, in fact, found themselves being under-sold by foreigners, who exported the wool and raised the price. (Vol. 114, 32-34). Cf. S.P. Domestic Series, James I., vol. 131 (55) 128 (49).

1621. Sir H. Winche and Sir Wm. Jones, justices of Assize to the Council, state that they have called before them *the Clothiers of Gloucestershire*, ordered them to prevent mutinies by employing the work-people one month longer. They, however, consent to a fortnight. They state the *Decay of Trade :* their inability to employ hands : that there are 1500 *looms* in the county. Each loom employs 16 work-people, who receive little more than one shilling a week apiece. They say that the decay is due to the Merchant-Adventurers, who confine the export to themselves ; buying only twice a year ; impositions, &c. In 1627-8 *Cirencester* had over 1000 " poore people that needed reliefe."

In 1630, *Jan.* 15. the Justices for Glos. came to enquire at Minchinhampton and at Tetbury about an alleged thickening of Cloth by the use of *oatmeal.* The chiefest *Clothiers* protested they have not used above a peck of it a week. Most of them have used no oatmeal at all.

Danger, indeed, threatened from two distinct sources : from the reckless agressiveness used by the Crown toward the rights and liberties of the people (this making itself felt by arbitrary imprisonments and taxations) ; and, next,

[1] Anna, uxor Johannis Trye (generosus) et nuper uxor et relicta Samuelis Seaman (generosus) defuncti tenet per liberum bancum suum per mortem dicti S.S. quamdam Domum, cotagia gardinum et sepal : parcell : terræ pro Redditum p.a. viid. et 6 acras prat' et pastur' et unum clausum vocatum Paradise, le Courte orchard, &c., XXIs. XI½d. Anno. 8, Car. 1. (1632). This other (or second) Paradise was a small plot of sandy ground *in le hom :* so there was a second *Paradise-field* here in Painswick manor. It lay beside Blackwell (*i.e. Edge Lane*) Lane. ' *le homme* ' included Ham(m)-butts and down into Washbrook, and beyond, toward Edge village (to-day).

from the ever-intensifying bitterness against Roman Catholicism and those who in any way admitted, or betrayed, leanings at all favourable to it. We can only imagine the disgust of honourable minds at the subservience of the Laudian Clergy to the King, especially when the latter endeavoured to teach that Parliament depended for its very existence upon the King's favour. It became manifest that to the reign of James had succeeded a highly critical period in home affairs. The general prosperity of the country promised one thing, but the attitude of the Crown threatened quite another. Under the insane banner of ' Divine Right of Kings ' misgovernment and tyranny menaced the most sacred institutions. People lost confidence both in home and foreign policy, and began to regard Buckingham and Charles as deliberate gamblers with the national liberty and with the State-religion. Misfortune was to dog their every move.

The authorities at Gloucester in 1633 even had considered it needful to establish a garrison in old Beverstone Castle (*Sir Wm. Hicks*) in order to overawe Stroud and its adjuncts. Eleven years later its owner had to admit a royalist garrison under the gallant Col. *Oglethorpe*, from whom *Massey* adroitly (May, 1644) took it for the Parliament in order both to attack Malmesbury and to break the royalist line between Bristol and Oxford.

In 1634-5 Painswick must have become closely interested in the result of an action relating to its chief source of wealth. For in December, 1634, was sent in an Affidavit of Henry Ackenbach of London (Gent.) that " Thomas Webb, the elder, of Painswick, Co. Glos : on the 27 Nov. last Past, being at Blackwell Hall in the Cloth Market, offered for Sale two Stroudwater Reds, not having the mark of the Clothier woven in either of them, but, contrary to the Statute, between the forvels ; and that Anthony Wither, his Majesty's Commissioner for Clothing, caused Laomedon Blisse (charming combination of names ! to seize the same cloths as forfeited to his Majesty's use. Bliss having one of the said Cloths in his arms to carry away to the King's Storehouse, the said Thomas Webb violently took them away, saying to Wither in a railing manner that he hoped the curses of the Poor would one day root him out, and that the marks on the said cloths stood where they should stand, and whereon he would have them stand, neither would he make it otherwise while he lived." (Cf. Domestic Papers, Charles I., 1634-5. Vols : CCLXI., fol. 38, 160 192, b. 220, b. 230. CCLXXVIII. f. 116).

Thomas Webb was associated in this case with Richard Feild of Stroud (Pakenhill).

The case provides some rather interesting items of information relative to the local trade in cloth. When the witnesses, John Adams and others, were called in for examination, they refused to be examined or to give information.

An attachment was therefore decreed against them. Later on (October, 1635), it would appear that certain witnesses against the defendant Webb " Mr Stephens, Mr Jones, and the Registrar of Gloucester, were ordered to be called to answer their indirect and unjust carriages at the expediting of the Commission in this cause, and Dr Rives was called upon to give in articles against them." Meanwhile, Webb and others had put in a petition to the lords of the Treasury fully stating the origin and progress of the manufacture of Red Cloth as carried on by them at Stroudwater, Co. Gloucester. They stated that their forefathers beyond memory of man used the trade of making red cloth, but had made only coarse cloths of a blood colour, having black Irish lists. Webb's people, however, about thirty years back (*ie* 1605) began to make finer cloth, and to dress it far better ; at the same time dyeing it with grained and bastard stammels. The defendant stated ' these stammell-cloths with scarlet and bastard scarlets, are found very good and merchantable : and we make of the same near three thousand every year : and we hope, if allowed to go on in our lawful calling, to revive the trade of making white cloth.'[1] The petitioners conclude by expressing a hope that they have satisfied the Commissioners that their using ' mosing-mills ' and dyeing stammels is for the general benefit. (Ap., 1635).

Webb was evidently the richest Clothier in Painswick. For in the Subsidy Roll for 1641, $\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{2}\frac{6}{2}$ (17, Car. I., Ap. 5), he is assessed at £1 8s. 8d. upon £5 ; or seven shillings more heavily than any customary tenant in the Manor. In the later subsidies (November 3) he is assessed at even more, £1 12s. 0d., and as we find a suspicious ' oneratur ' against his name, it seems likely that he was suffering from especial attentions on the part of the Crown. (Cf. Appendix).

This case represents some of the lay-troubles of Painswick. We may turn to the case of the Vicar of Painswick for an example of the religious ones.

The Vicar at this time was Rev. William Acson. He had already been curate to the previous Vicar, Mr Yate, whose daughter, Joan, he had married in 1606. By her he had a son, Joseph Acson, who is found as a customary tenant of the Manor, holding ' Cuphouse ' at Shepscombe, in 1636, with a farendel of land. At this time, however, Mr Acson had married a second wife, Anne, relict of William Loveday, a very well-to-do personage, paying no less than £1 16s. 9d. for chief-rent for her various properties. Whatever may have been the feelings toward the pastor whom the chiefest and discreetest of the Parishioners' had elected for their spiritual guidance in 1622, times had changed,

[1] In 1585 had been passed Acts regulating the breadths of White and Red Cloth. (Cf. John Smith. Mem : of Wool, pp. 81-2). The wages of labourers at this date were 14d. a week.

and in 1639-40 he found himself regarded with open hostility by some of them, and they laid informations against him on account of his preachings. In consequence we find his case referred to the Bishop of Gloucester for hearing. On Feb. 20, 1640, the House of Commons resolved that the Rev. William Acson was unfit to hold any ecclesiastical Benefice, and declared him to be a 'Malignant.' This serious resolution was ratified on May 20, and he was ejected from his Painswick living. It is evident he favoured the Royalist lord of the Manor: Sir Ralph Dutton, and of course the King.

At this period, public discontent had culminated to a great crisis. Grievances reached London from the country districts every day and by the score. Laud and Strafford were ordered to be impeached. The Parliament boldly passed a statute peremptorily condemning the arbitrary Subsidies, which had been levied without its consent by the Crown.

Painswick had just been taxed for such Subsidies, and it is evident that her Vicar had approved of them, albeit he himself suffered by them, for his name appears in them all, and his name would not be there had he protested. As, however, he had married a wealthy widow in Mrs Loveday it is not probable that the Subsidies troubled him seriously. But it may be possible to find solid reason for Mr Acson's conduct.

In 1636 Sir Henry Jerningham and his lady, Eleanor,[1] embarrassed by losses in Norfolk, and a debt of £1,400 upon their estate at Painswick, agreed by an Indenture (Aug. 1, a. 12, Car. I.) between themselves and their neighbour, Sir Ralph Dutton, of Standish,[2] that the latter should have assigned to him their Manor and Lodge of Painswick with all its rights and belongings to farm for a term of years, paying 20s. yearly to the King or his heir.[3]

Sir Ralph Dutton, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and Knighted at

[1] 1630 "*An Inventory taken the xvj of Oct.* 1630 of all the goods in my master's house at *Painswick*.

The parlour (8l.), the closet within the parlour, the Hall (2) 10s., the buttery (2l.), the little milk house (10s.) the boulting-house, the pastry (3l.) the larder, the storehouse (10l.), the butler's chamber (5l) the chamber over the kitchen, the nursery (4l.), the garret over-head, Mrs Saundars's chamber, (15l.), the porch-chamber (4l. 10s.), the gallery, the green chamber (20l.) the dining-room (120l.) my lady's chamber (24l.), the inward chamber (2l. 13s.), the brewhouse, the stables, the kitchen. 10th Report.

Hist. MSS. Comm : App.. Pt. IV., Stafford MS. (*Cossey*).

[2] "Shall be delivered unto him, the said Sir Ralph Dutton, his executors, administrators and assigns, all the Lodge, or Manor-House of Painswick aforesaid, whole, safe, uncancelled, and undefaced, at or before the feast of Easter now next coming."

[3] "The land and tenement of the said Sir Henry Jerningham, Bart: in his said Majesty's hand taken and seized by virtue of his said Majesty's writ of extent upon a judgment had and obtained by the said Sir Ralph Dutton against him in Easter terme in the 10th year of his said Majesty's reign," *i.e.* 1636.

Woodstock in 1624,[1] was Lord of the adjoining Manor of Standish, which his father had purchased from Sir Henry Winston[2] (1613) in the previous reign. On July 22, 1625, he became Deputy-Lieutenant for the County of Gloucester. In 1630 he had been appointed Sheriff for the County. As events were to prove, he developed into an ardent adherent of King Charles, and a despiser of the Parliament, against which he presently drew his loyal sword. From such a Manor-lord at the Lodge, (for he describes himself and is described, as of ' the Lodge, Painswick') it is only too probable that the Vicar took his colour, much (as it resulted) to his own undoing. Dutton was indeed a passionate Royalist and attached himself and his regiment to Prince Rupert.

Mr Acson having been ejected, Rev. Thomas Wild was instituted, perhaps through Sir Ralph's influence. For, as we shall see, Wild himself was ejected later on as a ' Malignant ' Loyalist by a local committee of Puritans, whose own man, George Dorwood, of Newent, became thrust in in his stead. But it will be well for a moment to glance at some few others of the leading inhabitants of Painswick.

Castle Hale with Whitelands and Lullingworth still remained in the possession of Mr Robert Rogers, of the Dowdeswell family ; but the neighbouring house on an adjoining part of the same ancient demesne-land had once more changed masters. We saw that Samuel Seaman had died in 1632. His widow married in the same year John Trye,[3] Esq., of Hardwicke. This is the personage we now discover in lists of various Subsidies contributing to them on behalf of himself and his wife, the actual owner of the House in the Court-Orchard, a close at ' Paradise,' (in Hamme) and the other tenements of the late Dr Seaman. Mr Trye, having witnessed remarkable events here, is found still residing as a copy-holder at Painswick in 1653, when he appears among the contributors to a subscription for the Relief of Marlborough in

[1] Marriage settlement between Sir Ralph Dutton and Mary Duncombe is dated 20 May, 1624. The Manors of Standish and Hardwicke became settled by it on Mary, Lady Dutton as Dower, to be of £400 a year, net value, with fine attached. (Cf. Calendar of Sherborne Muniments by Edward, Lord Sherborne, 1900).

[2] Sir Henry Winston's Coat of Arms and Crest are to be seen inserted in the Chimney Gable on the east side of Castle Hale. They are : Per pale, gules and azure, a lion rampant, argent, supporting between the paws a tree eradicated, vert. (Cf. Papworth, p. 90, col. 2). He m. Dionysia dau. of Sir Geo. Bond Kt.

[3] Son of *Wm. Trye, Esq., of Hardwicke.* Trye had been a *ward* of the Crown, and Sir *Henry Winston of Standish* had acquired his wardship from Ld. Salisbury, July 15, 1610, he wrote to S. stating that he stands surety in £2530 and he was given it. Both John and his brother, William Trye came, presently to Painswick. William T. married Anne d. of Vincent Acton, Co. Middlesex and his dau. Dorothy, m. John Wynford, Esq., Another dau. Anne, m. Rev. John Trotman (d. 1656) of Cam. Wm. Trye died 1681.

John Trye married (1) Eliz : Chambers of Tresham Co. Glos. (2) (1634), Anne, widow of Samuel Seaman of Painswick and lived at *Court House*, as it came later to be called.

Wilts, which had been almost destroyed by a conflagration.[1] It is probable, therefore, that Mr and Mrs Trye were occupying the house, when King Charles and his army reached Painswick. But we hear nothing of Richard Seaman, Mrs Trye's son by her former husband. Nor does his name appear on any Painswick document. Yet we know that he was living, for he married Katherine, daughter of Martin Wright, Esq., of Oxford (probably in 1645-7), and he was living at Panfield Priory, near Braintree, in Essex. As he thus owned two far-apart places he may have left Painswick to his mother and Mr Trye for her life ; and his reason for doing so may have been connected with a tragedy which had befallen his uncle, Edward Seaman, of the Sheephouse, at Painswick, in 1636, who had been hanged for murder.[2] The latter is described as having been tried at the Sessions-House of the Old Bailey and consigned to gaol, Feb. 19, 9, Car. I., so that the crime must have taken place in 1634 ' per ipsum commissum et perpetratum.' (Cf. Inquisitio Indentata, July 1, 10, Charles I). The name of the victim does not appear.[3]

Richard Seaman had an only daughter, who married Jan. 5 1664, one John West, of Oxford. He himself was then dead.[4] Mr Trye, however, continued residing at Painswick, but *Mrs Trye* had died *Nov.* 1663.

Having settled who, at the date of the King's visit to Painswick, lived at the Manor Lodge, namely Sir Ralph Dutton (lord of the Manor *pro tem.*), and who resided at the Seaman's House, namely Mr and Mrs John Trye, copyholders, let us revert to the stirring forties and the outbreak of the Civil War. King Charles, although aware of the reluctance entertained by the more prudent of his adherents to commence the fatal struggle, determined to raise his standard at Nottingham on August 23rd, 1642.[5] It is of special interest,

[1] Hist : of Church of St. Mary, Painswick, p. 57. May 2.

[2] Cf. The History of the Church of St. Mary, p. 53. Cf. MS : Harl : 5013. f. 15.
He [E. S.] held a fee-farm of 1 messuage

Le Welle (Well-Farm, to-day)	6 acres.
In the Hill	1 ,,
The Sheep house	2½ ,,
The Hall Close	—
The Wheat-close	3 ,,
In Edgman fields	11 ,,
In Witcombe	6 ,,

Purchased privately by *Robert Wight* and his wife. Granted by Letters patent a. 10. Caroli to Sir Wm. Stafford.

[3] Another uncle, William Seaman, lived at Wycote Farm, Wythington, and by his wife, Mary ——, had a daughter, Edith, born Jan. 1, 1633.

[4] Consequently, he never enjoyed Painswick. His uncle William was probably father of Giles Seaman, whom we shall meet with.

[5] On May 2, 1642, Sir Ralph Dutton demised Standish Manor with his Park of 800 acres to Sir Gerrard Fleetwood, of Crawley, Kt., and John Dutton, of Sherborne, for his only daughter, Elizabeth.

therefore, to Painswick, that the lord of the Manor, with not a few Painswick and Standish men under his command, appeared in that city with a regiment of 800 men at arms, ' with flying colours.' Dutton's force constituted the second cavalry regiment raised in the King's behalf.[1] For it he drew up a special form of daily prayers, and presumably was employing it throughout the following year.

The Parliament had previously been apprised of Sir Ralph Dutton's doings,[2] and had lately endeavoured almost successfully to arrest him while raising men in Gloucestershire.

" Master Hill, the Under-Sheriff of Gloucester,[3] with ten more set upon Sir Ralph Dutton with ten Cavaliers, who were raising men against the Parliament in that County, forced Sir Ralph to swimme the River of Severne and took two of the Cavaliers and brought them this 22nd of August (1642) to the Parliament ; who had the thanks from the Parliament, recompence for their fidelitie and paines, and incouragement to send up all malignants, Cavalliers and Army men, if they appear in that County ; and that all Counties should do the like." (Tract. H. Blunden 1642, London). The fact being that on the 12th of the month, the House had been informed " that Sir Ralph Dutton beats up a Drum in Gloucestershire and Hereford for soldiers, orders that he shall be apprehended and brought before the House as a Delinquent, and Lords-Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants,[4] and all his Majesty's Officers shall be assisting to apprehend him." (Cf. Journal of the House of Lords). So that Sir Ralph, acting energetically for his King, was promptly singled out to be arrested by any Crown Officer who chanced to discover and overpower him.

[1] Journal of " The Siege of Bristol " written by an eye-witness. (Memoirs of Prince Rupert, Edit : Warburton, 1849, p. 247).

> Next Wednesday morning, July 26, the time designed for the general assault, etc. . . . Col. Sir Ralph Dutton that day leading on the pikes, being gotten with one in his hand into the ditch, charged upon the foot with it. In the meantime his pikes being fallen back from the foot, he went out to bring them on again, when finding My Lord Grandison, who behaved himself most gallantly all that day, persuading with them to return, he brought them after him.

[2] Cf. Appendix to IVth Report Hl. MSS Commission, p. 49. *Sir Ralph Dutton.* 1640/1.

[3] Thomas Stephens was Sheriff, 1643.

[4] Twenty-five Deputy-Lieutenants were nominated for the County in August. 1642. Those for the City of Gloucester included George Bridgeman of Prinknash, Sylvanus Wood, William Capel, and William Knighton. But many refused to serve, Sylvanus Wood, *armiger*, appears at a Manor-Court (VFP.) of Sir Ralph Dutton, held Apr. 28, 1636, described as Tenant of " *the Manor of Ebworth* " while Sir Henry Poole is there equally representing the Manor of *Edgworth*. It is certain that by this 12th cent. subtraction of Ebbworth by its owner it became regarded as a small separate manor belonging to St. Peter's, Gloucester. The manor Roll is uncorrected and in excellent condition.

Though sorely imperilled in the home counties, the King's cause now brightened owing to the blow dealt to the Parliament by the taking of Bristol, in those days regarded as the second city in England. On July 26, 1643, it capitulated to Prince Rupert, with whom was present Colonel Sir Ralph Dutton. At the same time Exeter and Barnstaple surrendered to Prince Maurice. " Gloucester alone interrupted the communications between the Royal forces in Bristol and those in the North ; and, at the opening of August, Charles moved against that city in the hope of a speedy surrender." (J. R. Green, Hist. Eng. People, vol. II. c. IX.) Meantime, Massey, its Governor was devising means for augmenting this area of interruption and establishing a thorough-going scout-system.

The above facts are the more interesting, as we find Prince Rupert presently lodged at Prinknash Park, Sir George and Lady Bridgeman's, adjoining Dutton's Manor of Painswick, whither the King himself was now moving, and commanding the head of the ancient Portway to Gloucester. Hardby, there survive outside *the lower Park-Gate* to the *Portway*, but rather above its level, some well-defined lines of Civil war (?) entrenchment-banks. (1910.)

Having slept at Berkeley Castle on August 7, Charles dined at Tetbury on the 8th ; whence he passed immediately to Cirencester, where the Master family entertained him, and in whose mansion (the Abbey) he passed the night together with his two sons and the suite.

" Upon Wednesday night (August 9, 1643), his Majesty quartered five miles short of Gloucester, and the Prince (Rupert) at Princenage three miles off Gloucester." (Cf. A Journal of the Siege of Gloucester, p. 280). Prinknash Park, sold by the Chandos Lords in 1628,[1] was then the home of Sir George Bridgeman, Recorder and a Deputy-Lieutenant of the County. In the woodland immediately above it, and beside the road (r) to Buckholt is to be seen under the trees a complete picket-entrenchment probably dating from rather later days of the same Civil War, and perhaps set there by Massey for commanding the neighbourhood. It is capable of holding 100 men, and has its long side on the east over-browing the vale of Cranham. An unsigned military order discovered some years back at Upton St Leonards brings the time vividly to mind. It is dated from Prinknash, ten days after the King's visit to his friend Dutton's manor and while he was actually at Matson House. It was intended no doubt to be issued by Prince Rupert, to whose force Dutton was attached.

[1] *Sir Geo. Br.* became in 1628 the Recorder of *Gloucester*. His display of Arms on a splendid overmantel was sold from *Prinknash* House to a dealer in *London ; August*, 1927. Rudder states that he caused the Chapel there to be reconsecrated to St. Peter.

" By virtue of the authority and power given to me from our Souveraign Lord Kinge Charles under the great seale of England, to you all under his Majy of all his Majesty's forces whatsoever, I doe hereby straitly charge and command you and (each) of you whom it may or shall concern, that immediately after sight or knowledge hereof you doe noe manner of violence, injury harme or detriment by unlawful plunderinge to Robert Tayloe[1] of Upton S. Leonard in the County of the City of Gloucestershire (*sic*) . . . directly or indirectly by your selves or others as you will answer the contrary at your utmost perill, given at Prinknedge under my hand and seale att armes this 20th of August 1643."

" To all commanders, officers, and soldiers whatsoever of or any way belonginge to his majesty's army."

The King while spending some hours at Painswick appears to have issued a similar order (found many years ago at Tewkesbury, It is dated August 10, 1643, " From our Court at Payneswicke."

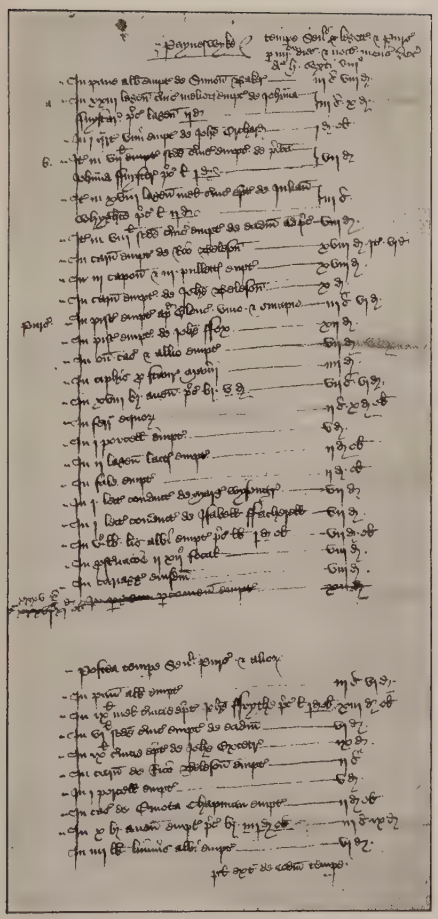
Having spent but a night at Painswick Lodge, the King and Princes rode down the Portway to Matson House[2]: and there, fatefully to his cause, Charles remained until September 5, when the City became relieved by Essex. Hopeful of meeting Essex on favourable battle-ground, he now returned to Painswick (where he stayed one more night) and then marched *via* Coberley to Sudeley Castle. He believed himself about to deal a deadly blow at a rebel General who was a first-rate scout-master, but he was mistaken.

" When we drew off [from Gloucester] it proved to be most miserable tempestuous rainy weather, that few or none could take little or no rest on the hills where they were ; and the [un]ceasing winds next morning dried up our thorough-wet clothes we lay pickled in all night as a convenient washing of us as we came out of the Trenches." (*ie* those of the ancient Camp at Painswick).

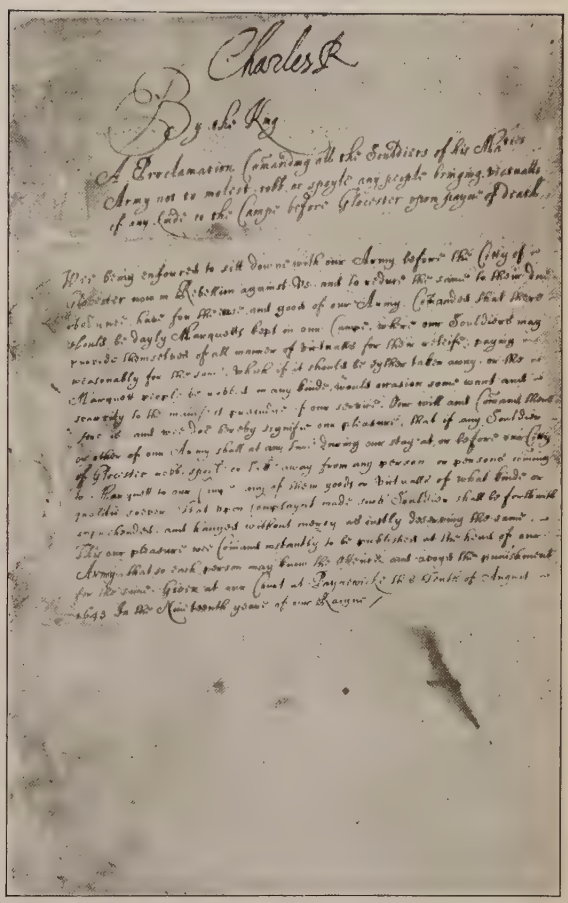
That Sir Ralph Dutton realised the dangerous course he had set himself to run goes without examining. Prince Rupert presently made him Adjutant to the Governor of Oxford. The settlement of Standish Manor upon his daughter, just old enough at this period to marry, was a prudent step. It was carried through as a provision for Elizabeth Dutton, and really devised to his relative, John Dutton of Sherborne (also a Royalist) and another, in Trust, in order that these should pay her £50 p.a. until her marriage, when it was to

[1] ' Via sapientis est meditatio Immortalis. To the memory of Robert Tayloe who deceased the 2nd day of September, 1656, aged 70 years.' In Upton Churchyard.

[2] The Selwyns were opposed to the Royal cause and their House was commandeered.

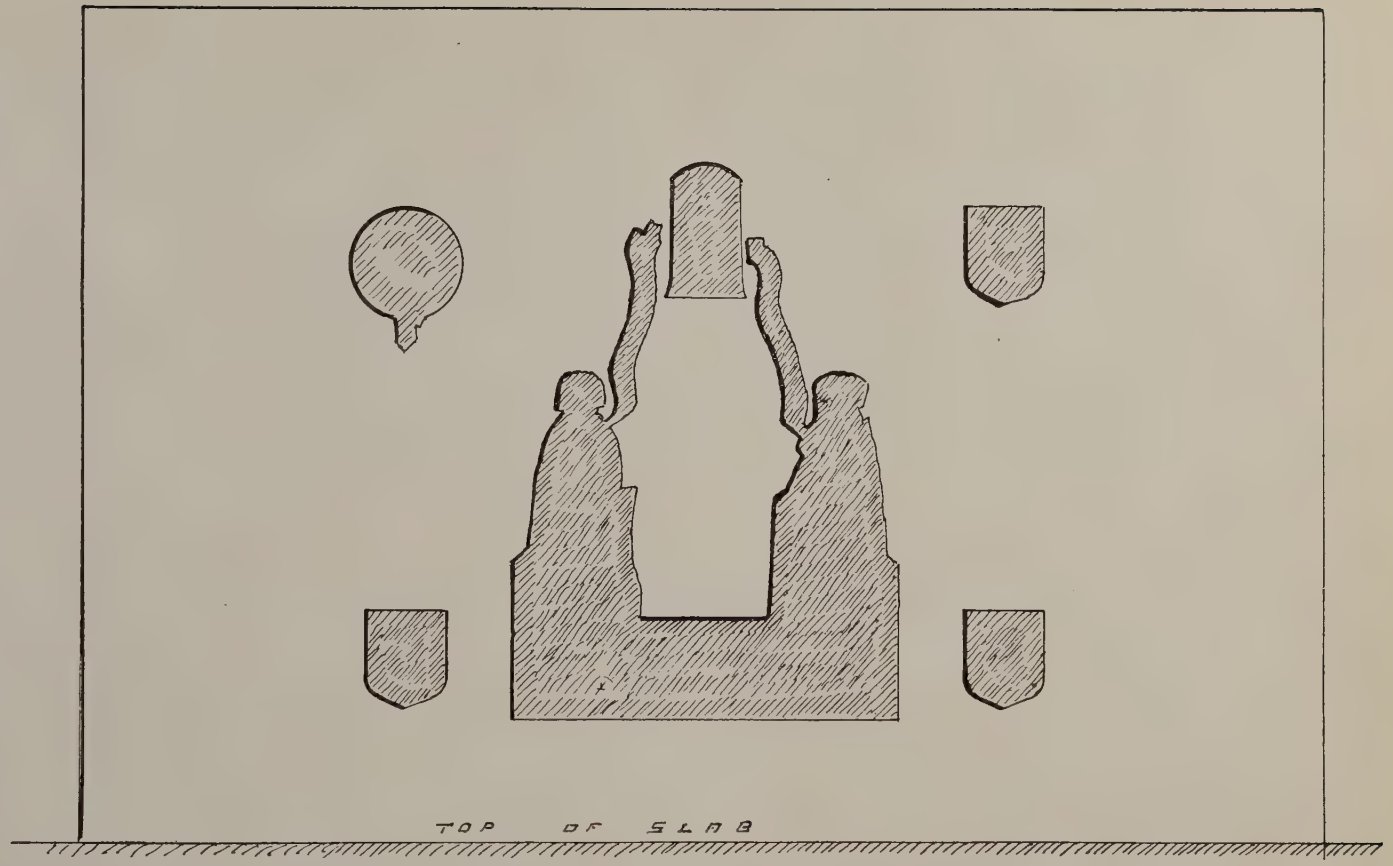


A MS. LIST OF PRICES
PAID AT PAINSWICK, A.D. 1429



MILITARY ORDER OF CHARLES I.
AUG. 10, 1643, GIVEN AT PAINSWICK

facing p. 190



MATRICES OF BRASSES OF SIR WM. & LADY KINGSTON (AFTER 1540) AND HIS *GARTER*. THE BRASSES THEMSELVES WERE TORN AWAY DURING THE CIVIL WAR (1644).

be increased to £200. It was a measure which made it possible later on after the sequestration of Standish and Sir Ralph Dutton's decease in 1646, to compound with the Treasury and secure the return of this Manor to the family, in behalf of Sir Ralph's children. (Cf. Sherborne Muniments, by Edward, Lord Sherborne, p. 21). Painswick duly returned to the Jerninghams. It may be well to recall that at this time (1632) Painswick Church had newly been crowned with its first stone-steeple of clean white free-stone which could be seen for many miles by both day or by moonlight; while the site of the far later (but neighbouring) Beacon-House (1766) recalls the fact that fire-signalling had formerly been carried out there, close by it in times of crisis.

While studying its structure for publication in *Country Life* in 1916, the writer found evidences that a very modest gabled cottage had preceded Beacon-House on the site. 'The Falcon' Inn, named from the Jerningham crest, rearose in 1711: tho' its predecessor may have occupied the same site. When, however, in 1766 Beacon House arose at the hands of some first-class Bath Architect it had no other houses standing next it; and its fine outline must have afforded a most striking introduction to Painswick, albeit its best windows unpleasantly commanded the whipping-post next the Churchyard N. entrance beside the stock-house: (removed 1840).

CHAPTER XV.

THE CIVIL WAR, RESTORATION, AND ONWARD.

ALTHOUGH in the early days of the outbreak Sir Ralph Dutton proved too nimble for his assailants they contrived later on to be amply revenged for his evasion. Captain Backhouse, a prominent and (as we should now say) slim Parliamentarian, under the direction of Massey at Gloucester, set out thence, probably to Holcombe, as well as to Standish, and pillaged Sir Ralph's barns, carrying their contents back with him to Gloucester. Some of the Standish and Painswick tenants would seem to have been captured also, for Christopher Beavan and John Davis (junior) Yeomen of Painswick, with William and James Willis, of Standish, appear in the Gloucester Sessions Books for the Autumn of 1642 as being placed under recognisances in £20 for their good behaviour before Dennis Wise Esq. J.P., and their names reappear from time to time until after Easter, 1643.

"As for Provisions and Ammunition, I have not been in the Granary since the siege, but to deal truly with you I verily believe the Garrison is filled for 6 moneths; for the Corne of Master Guise, Master Dobbs, Sir Henry Spillar, Sir Ralph Dutton, and others, whom we call 'Malignants' was brought in, indeed by myself." Feb. 5, 1643-4 (Letter of Backhouse).

This should be dated 1644, as the blockade had not commenced before that time. The temptation to plunder the Standish and Holcombe fields must have been considerable. They were to be defended only by a few farm hands.

By the commencement of the year 1644, the Royalists had distributed certain small garrisons in a remote circle about Gloucester. The more important of these were at Newnham, Lydney, Dymock, and Newent, Highleadon, Tainton, Tewkesbury, Sudeley, Salperton, Beverstone and Berkeley. This was effected with a view to starving the city into surrender by cutting off supplies. On the other side, the Parliamentarians despatched from Gloucester similar small garrisons to occupy where they could do so. These located themselves at Frampton, Frowcester, Horsley, Lippiatt: and at Prestbury, Boddington, Westbury, Arlingham, and Eastington. They captured Bever-

stone Castle that commanded the way to Malmesbury in May, and brought Col. Oglethorpe, its Governor, a prisoner to Gloucester.

Such being the distribution of the opposing forces, it is not to be wondered that skirmishing up and down hill ensued with varying fortune. Hill and vale watched, one the other. So eager were certain of the Royalist commanders to secure the glory of the surrender of Gloucester to themselves in particular that we find them entering blindly into an intrigue (as they fancied with Backhouse to induce that Attorney-Captain to deliver into their hands the city which he was defending together with Massey, its commander. Backhouse played very skilfully with both Colonel Stanford and Sir William Vavasour and kept them wooing and fooling in vain. In February and March, 1644,[1] Painswick became the point of two sanguinary skirmishes.

Backhouse, writing Feb. 5, states : " Upon receipt of these letters (*ie* from Master Stanford and Sir William Vavasour) the next news we heard was that Colonels Mynne and St Leger with the Irish forces march't to Paynes-wicke for subsistence, but indeed to plunder the country ; to prevent which, our Governor (Massey) drew out a party of Horse and Foot, where there was a skirmish and some losse on both sides." According to Bibl : Gloucestrensis (p. 76) there was a force of two thousand Royalists in Painswick at this time.

Sir William Vavasour in a letter to Backhouse (Feb. 1) had stated " My men are faine to march into the country for subsistence." The Irish force had been brought by Colonel Mynne to reinforce the King.

It is interesting at this point to read a Royalist account of this skirmish. It is taken from Mercurius Aulicus and bears date Feb. 8 (Thursday). " And to bring in Peace and Truth, their countryman, Master Massey, passed out of Gloucester on Monday morning last to Painswick (three or foure miles thence), where Colonel Mynne was quartered, but suddenly he retreated. In the afternoone hee came againe with a stronger party, whereupon the Colonell drew out part of his forces, beat up Massey's ambushes, killed 80 of his men, tooke betwixt 20 and 30 prisoners, whereof two Lieutenants, without the losse of any one man, besides 150 very good fire-armes."

While it is clear that Backhouse tactfully conceals what must have been a nasty worsting for his side under the vague " losse on both sides," it is possible that the neat round numbers mentioned above cover some exaggeration. Colonell Mynne was left, at any rate, in full possession of Painswick.

Corbet states further that a force of Massey's " was driven to a sudden and confused retreat, and in disorder ran down the steep through a rough and

[1] That is, six months subsequently to the King's visits, and not previous to them as stated, owing to an oversight, in the Hist : of St. Mary's Church, Painswick.

narrow lane,[1] and recovered a house at the foot of the hill, where a party had been left to make good the retreat via Brookthorpe to Gloucester. The enemy durst not pursue ; by which means many parts of the county were preserved from spoil, and next day the enemy retreated, laden with plunder." (Bibliotheca Glouc., vol. II., pp. 74-5).

Having obtained what they wanted, *ie* subsistence and spoils, the enemy (*ie* the Royalist Painswick garrison), now retreated or were called off elsewhere. This, perhaps, bears the construction that they left Painswick. For, in the following month we find Painswick occupied after all by Massey's Parliamentary garrison.

It should be mentioned that Sir William Vavasour (now become Colonel-General of the King's forces in Gloucestershire), had his headquarters at Tewkesbury. Hearing that Massey had gotten possession of Painswick in March, 1644, Corbet writes : " Sir William Vavasour having obtained two culverins from Oxford, with proportion of powder, advanced with a strong brigade towards Painswick, with unusual preparation and expectation. Their march afflicted the County and indangered our out-garrisons. He entered Painswicke with as gallant Horse and Foote as the King's army did yield." The next words are of particular importance. " Here (our) Governour (*Massey*) had placed a guard in a house near the Church,[2] into which the Church also was taken in by a breastwork of earth. The intention of the guard was to command contribution and keepe off a plundering party ; and Order was given to the Lieutenant which commanded, to maintaine it (Painswick) against a lesser party, but, if the maine body and Artillery advanced upon them, to relinquish it and retreate down the Hill to Bruckthorp (where the Governour (Massey) had set a guard to prevent the enemies falling downe into the bottome) for which purpose they were assisted with a troop of horse to make good such a retreate if need were. But the Lieutenant, more confident of the place, and not understanding the strength of the (opponents') army, and not willing to draw off before the last minute, was inforced by the enemy to engage himself and many willing people of the neighbourhood in that weak hold ; and upon the first onset deserted the house being the stronger part, and betook himselfe to the Church ; which, wanting flankers the enemy had

[1] Probably *Bacchus*—Lane—the then *easiest* way down to Brookthorpe.

[2] This can scarcely have been the new (1628) Stock-house at the North gate of the Chu.chyard taken down in 1840, but it may well have been the old Church-House of St. John bordering the east side of the Church-yard : now represented by a queer-shaped cottage upon a far older base. The Church House was still in use 1701.

quickley gained by firing the doores[1] and casting in hand-granadoes, some few were slaine in defending the place, and the rest taken prisoners. We lost three inferior officers, seaven and thirty common soldiers, and many countrymen (Painswick men) ; and at that season the Governour had commanded to Stroud another guard of fifty musketiers to support and strengthen the place in its own defence, but ammunition was their only cry. . . They wasted the hill countries, while we secured the vale."

Though Sir William Vavasour had won the place, he still found houses there that refused to yield. For he wrote to Lord Percy, General of Ordnance, stating that he had taken Painswick, " though the Rebels have (retain) possession of many Houses," and beseeching his Lordship to send him more common bullets. (Cf. Harleian MS., 4, 713, fol. 121). This shews, in agreement with Stroud, Kings Stanley, and elsewhere, how completely the trading folk were hostile to the King.

On March 29 (1644) Sir Edward Nicholas wrote to the Earl of Forth, General of his Majesty's forces : " Sir William Vavasour has taken Painswick with small loss, and he took above 200 soldier prisoners, besides many slain, and the arms of divers that ran away." (Oxon.)

The Parish registers for 1628-1653 having disappeared, we cannot tell precisely who among the Painswick folk were slain. The names of many of them would be familiar to us, and must have included several of those given in the Subsidy Rolls for 1641-2 (q.v.). It is to be inferred that Vavasour afterwards captured the remaining houses in the town. Mr Trye and his wife, of the Seaman's House,[2] were certainly not slain ; for besides his name

[1] It is evident that the north foot of the Tower and the western end of the North aisle, in addition to the East end of the said aisle and the East of the main Chancel, all suffered severely both without and within from Vavasour's ordnance (of two sizes), as well as from his hurled in torches. Impressions of the shot are still abundant on the stones at both ends of the church, while the Eastern Chapel of the aisle has been completely gutted, scorched red within and rendered roofless. And that is why the Kingston-Lisle tomb of Purbeck marble has so severely been roasted and spoiled. The entire north aisle was burned out and its former western window destroyed and filled in. From the (formerly) three stair lights of the tower his opponents probably teased Vavasour's men effectively, though in vain.

[2] (1924) The former, or XVIIth c. (*Seaman*) entry to the *Court-House* was by the now narrowed lane or passage between Court Cottage and *Miss A. Howard's*. It led right through from Tybbywell Street and High Street (*Bisley St.*). The modern gate and drive into *Court-House* is not above 100 years old : but, when made, the original entrance in middle *Hale Lane* became closed off entirely and the ruined lodge inside it became a chicken-house.

Miss A. Howard's house (Mrs Birt's Cottage until 1922) had been as a cottage going from bad to worse for over a century. Its larger part dates from Geo. 1 (c. 1723). Hence the small path leading to Tibbywell, was formerly three times its present width and it formed the approach to the direct east front of the present Court House.

occurring in the documents referred to, and dating nine years later, he was buried at Hardwicke, 1680.

No traces have been identified of the temporary 'breast-works' mentioned above: but in 1722, or eighty years afterwards, 'two little ridges lying near the House,' in Court-Orchard, are mentioned, which may possibly have been connected with them, though more probably with foundations of more ancient buildings. The present trees leading from the House to the Church belong to the latter date,[1] and the ground generally on this north side the House has a tendency to cumber the ground-floor rooms.[2]

It is clear, then, that Painswick was by no means heartwhole for the King. The Rev. Mr Wyld, the Vicar, appears to have been captured by Massey's men and kept for five months at Gloucester. But he was in Painswick again in the year, and became proceeded against by many of his puritanical parishioners as a 'malignant.' As the Rev. Mr Acson had already been turned out of his living on the ground of 'malignancy' it may be asked, how came it that his successor, Wyld, was found to be of the same persuasion? This difficulty is explained for us by a document in the Rawlinson Collection in the Bodleian Library. (Cf. B. 323, 518, fol. 203, b. 202, 204, 205).

"The Puritan Party[3] collected a sum of money and purchased the patronage (from Sir Henry Winston) in ye names of five Trustees, who were Prin, Mackworth, Ven, Ford and Cradock; but in the bargain those trustees were obliged on ye next avoydance to present Wyld, and therefore they granted the next avoydance to Bud and Heydon who were friends of Wyld, and he was accordingly presented by them . . . Wyld had never any right to ye Patronage, but was always poor and much in debt: and yet Stock set up a counterfeit grant from Wyld to Taignton." (Fol. 204).

At any rate, Wyld was summoned before a Committee and articles of accusation were preferred against him. Witnesses were of no avail nor was he permitted to be heard; and his accusers without delay sequestered him. Rev. George Dorwood, their own man brought from Newent, with the help of a troop of Massey's horse (which was still at Painswick in December, 1644), put himself in possession of the Vicarage House,[4] and turned Mrs Wyld and

[1] Perhaps the coronation of George I and planted by Mr John Burford, or even his successor (1722) Nathl. Adams of Minchinhampton.

[2] Possibly the exuberant growth of nettles annually lower down in the Court-Orchard may be related to the said earthworks: but it is more probable these have to do with far more ancient foundations: *i.e.*, those of the building of Norman and early English days which have transmitted the name of Castle Hale.

[3] Circa 1614.

[4] Ludloes: ? now rebuilt and called 'The Verlands.'? *i.e.* far-lands. Cf. Far-Oakridge. It used to be '*Ver Ocrage*' (temp: Edw. III.)

TOMB (Inscription Decayed)

TOMBS OF JOHN AND RICHARD POOLE

facing p. 196

TOMB OF REV. JOHN MOSELEY (d. 1794)

her children into the streets : " denying her the liberty so much as to boyl a skillet of milk for her crying and hunger-bitten children,[1] though she begged the favour on her knees. Whereupon they were constrained to take shelter in a Barn." (Cf. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy).

Mr Dorwood remained Vicar until 1686,[2] having also taken a second wife at Gloucester 1664.

During the raiding of Painswick Church the brasses and decorations[3] of its old tombs suffered, especially those adorning the tomb of Sir William Kingston in the north aisle. The burning roof evidently fell in and ruined the entire face of this monument as well as that of the two open arches opposite, and much besides ; but the corbel heads of Richard II and his Queen just beyond the chapel survived undamaged. This table tomb, since those times became an incongruous sort of monster, was already too sufficiently composite in character. For Sir William Kingston (1540), as Lord of the manor, had appropriated the Founder's Chapel, and his widow gave him burial in a monument of one of the XV. c. Viscounts Lisle. Upon this tomb a borrowed Tudor canopy (from a vanished tomb) had become reared, and the arms of Sir William Kingston and his wife as well as their kneeling figures on the rear wall were added to make his resting-place worthy of a Knight of the Garter, and Constable of the Tower : " but ye iniquity of ye times suffered all ye brasses and inscriptions to be stolen away." (Ashmolean, MS. 1118).

By good fortune these brasses there and then came into possession of Mr John Theyer[4] of Cooper's Hill, Brockworth, whose wife claimed to be descended from Sir William Kingston.

This John Theyer was found in company of Christopher Bevan of Painswick and John Davis of the same place, and at a Court of Sessions of the Peace (September 22nd, 1642), mulcted in £8 " to be of good behaviour."

During this period Sir Ralph Dutton, by a legal agreement acting as lord of the Manor, and formerly a sheriff, was promoted by Prince Rupert to be Adjutant to the Governour of Oxford. Being also a member of the Council of War at Tewkesbury, he was probably an intimate of Sir William

[1] One of these, Francis Wyld, petitioned for Relief, at the Restoration. (Cf. Cal. State Papers, 1661-2, p. 233).

[2] His epitaph is in the Chancel of the Church of St. Mary. His sons Nehemiah and Timothy lived on into the next century and his widow almost as long.

[3] The crosses of all villages suffered by orders of the Puritan Parliament, including the beautiful ones at Cheapside and Charing in London.

[4] John Theyer, of Cooper's Hill, married 1628, Susanna,—and named his son and heir, Charles, after his King, in 1650. He died in August, 1673, and is buried at Brockworth, tradition says, beneath a great yew tree. Among his books from Lantony the writer found the Autograph of *Thomas Talbot, Lord Lisle,* (victim of Nibley Green, 1469).

Vavasour and Colonel Stanford and thus a redoubtable enemy of Massey and Backhouse, with whom things now began to prosper.

On Sir Ralph, however, fortune frowned darker and darker after each reverse suffered by the King. His estates became sequestered as a malignant, and on Aug. 4, 1644, he was captured, with Grace and another, at Welshpool, and kept a prisoner until he became ransomed for £500. Cf. The Clarke Papers, Camden Society, 1894, vol. ii., 153. "The selling of Sir Ralph Dutton and other prisoners of note when they were taken, as Sir Richard Ducie, Baronet, Tracey, and many others." At the same time Sir Henry Jerningham, having suffered severely from the civil strife in his Norfolk Estate at Costessy or Cossey, and having lost his only son, John Jerningham, died (1646,) leaving a grandson to succeed to the Baronetcy and to the sudden reversion of Painswick. We have no documentary proof as to who officially administered this Manor at this fateful moment, though it is likely to have been Mr. John Lygon, J.P. For, in the very same year, having endeavoured to escape from Scotland to France, Sir Ralph Dutton was driven by adverse winds on to Burnt Island, where is he stated to have died. In consequence, his brother, John Dutton of Sherborne (likewise a delinquent, having been at Oxford during its siege), contrived to secure a release not only of his own estates, but that of sequestered Standish with its 800 acres, in favour of William and Ralph, sons of Sir Ralph. His petition is dated Aug. 16, 1646.

The grandson of Sir Henry Jerningham was destined to a long minority ; and during part, at least, of this the Manor was administered for him by Sir Henry Moore,[1] Bart., of Fawley Court, (*Co. Berks.*) his uncle (maternal) who is officially styled 'Lord of the Manor of Painswick,' and who held Courts here. The latter's sister was wife to Sir Mathew Hale, of Alderley : Lord Chief Justice and Bell-ringer.

Meantime, the Trye family still resided at the Seaman's House, and in 1653 we find Mr John Trye contributing 5s. to a subscription for the relief of Marlborough, which had been half-burned down. The most important persons in the Manor in the absence of the Lord, were doubtless Mr John Lygon (living at the Lodge) who acted as its Registrar from 1653-56 [in the latter year he died, and on August 10th was laid to rest in the Church] and Mr William Rogers of Castle Hale, sometimes acting as Reeve. It was probably upon Mr Lygon's decease that Sir Henry Moore began his administration of the manor for the heir of the Jerninghams, which he continued until 1666. In 1661 William Rogers was co-Churchwarden with Charles Michell, and the present font then (in honour of the Restoration) was made to

[1] Sir Henry Moore may be the same with the Captain Sir Henry Moore, of the Earl of Cleveland's Regiment (Oct. 7, 1662). (Cf. Cal. S.P., Charles II).

replace an earlier one, and it bears their initials and the date. George Dorwood continued in his Vicarage bringing up a family of sons and daughters with characteristic Puritan names: Josiah, Nehemiah, Hester, Rebecca and Timothy. We have no further reference to the Seaman family here until 1674, when Giles Seaman and his wife are found living at his family House.[1] This Giles we take to be a son of William Seaman of Wycote Farm Withyngton (County Gloucester) who married in 1633, and thus a grandson of Chancellor John Seaman, John Trye died 1680.[2] A brother of his, William Trye (called 'of PAINSWICK') died here in 1681[3], who was patron in 1679 of the Living of Haresfield. (Buried at Hardwick). His will[4] was witnessed by the above Vicar.

Since Castle Hale had been enlarged in 1653, and the date 1657 occurs on an incised shield inclosing initials, I.D. (? Josiah Dorwood) on the chimney-face of a gabled-house, later the 'George Inn,'[5] next the Gables, and there are still other local evidences of activity in building at this period, it is fair to

[1] His name is at the head of the Militia Subsidy for Edge tithing in 1684, together with that of William Rogers (Gent.) The *Court House*, was not to be called thus until after 1681. At Trinity Sessions 1688, an order (was) made by ye justices Wm. Rogers, John Wagstaffe, John Wise and Wm. Hayward was confirmed appointing and allotting the *Courthouse* at Painswicke to be used as a conventicle or meeting-house for Dissenters to exercise their Religion in pursuance of his Majesty's late gracious declaration of Indulgence. Mr Giles Seaman was temporarily therefore out of residence there. (F. Hyett's MS. note, at Painswick House).

[2] An Inventory of *Anne Trye.*

In primis in Money	£4	0	0
More „ „	5	3	0
Item 1 Silk grogorem gowne	£2	0	0
„ 2 red pettycotes		10	0
„ 1 Cloth of silver cushnett		1	6
„ between 14 and 20 yards of red flaning		11	8
„ 1 old purple-coloured velvet purse			6
„ 1 Dyamond ring	1	0	0
„ 2 other rings with stones in them	1	0	0
„ 1 Juel and two stones in it	1	0	0
„ 1 Silver bodkin with a stone in it		10	0
„ 1 „ stopper and 1 wooden tobacco-pipe case		1	6
„ 2 payre of old hemppen sheets		6	0
„ 1 dozen of old „ napkins		2	0
Total ..	£16	6	2

{ *Edmund Kingston*
{ *John ffettiplace.*

[3] The name of a daughter, Mrs Anne Trotman, occurs in the Subsidy (Militia) Roll of 1684.

[4] At Gloucester.

[5] Mentioned in 1684. This chimney has been spoiled with brick-restoration since 1909.

assume that Painswick began to recover prosperity during the later years of the Commonwealth.

The Cloth-trade had been actively stimulated by the late Civil War, by a strong Navy and a consequent increase of shipping. Presently, Charles II. further aided it by enacting (1679) that every Englishman should be buried in a woollen shroud, and this remained in force from 1678—1815. In a contemporary *Register* we read:—" John Rodway, mason, July 29. The other burialls this yeare after the 1 of August are in another booke appointed to be kept for buryinge in woollen. Mar: 1678." The Act was read on the first Sunday after the feast of St. Bartholomew, every year for seven years following. " No corps of any person to be buried in any stuffe or thing other than what is made of sheep's wool only."

This at least was a most prosperous period for the Lovedays, Fields, Pallings, Packers, Blysses, Pooles, Tocknells, and Webbs, and that of the rise of some of their assistants and kinsmen who became distinguished in still later days, and whose names were household words in Painswick throughout the remaining 150 years of the Jerningham lordship of the manor, and long after their special trades had become eclipsed here. Another prominent tenant who had seen much Painswick History was Giles Fletcher, who had built the Wick Street House[1] in 1633.

Subjoined is a list of tythed persons in the Manor in 1674, also a portion of a list for 1680:

The Local Inns were *The Falcon* rebuilt 1711, called from the Jerningham crest, and the *Cross-Keys*; Ralph Adey had the *Crowne*, and already there was the *George* in Friday Street. Baskerville, in 1682, coming as an Angler this way, from the Avon—no doubt rod in hand and having a familiarity with the treasures to be found in mill-dams—notices our

[1] His initials and date are over the door: It was (in 1907) the residence of Edward Warmington Reed. From the latter Major Noel Willoughby, for 5 years had it; and left in 1913. The property partly came by marriage of the *Wick Family* with the *Fletchers* their neighbours. In 1685 an Agreement between *George Wick* of *Wick Street House* (Gent.) and *Jonathan Leighton* is signed by *Elizabeth Feild* and *Richard Mower*. He owes £120 to *John Arundell*, a clothier of Dursley. *In* 1690 *Geo. Wick a lieut.* of a Company of trained-band men appointed for Gloucestershire by *Lord Macclesfield* as Lord Lieutenant and *William Kingscote*, Captain. *In* 1693 *Wick St. House* was in possession of *Wm. and Anne Cooke* (who made her mark). He was a cloth-worker. She was his mother. They assign to *George Wick of Wick Street* fields called *Maple-mead* and *Long-close*, containing 8 acres, and *Brier-mead* and *Short close*, containing 6 acres, near and belonging to a messuage ' called *Seagrims*.' They let these pastures to him and to his heirs. We find in 1720 *Anna, relict of Geo. Wick*, Clothier, and Edmund, her son, possess a portion of *the Rectory of Painswick:* so, they were Impropriators. Their dau. Hester married *William Knight* (1) of Byfield House. PK. and died 1742. *Her bust and Monument is in the Chancel.* They paved the latter black and white like the floor of her house to-day.

Wick-stream as "A bourne which leads by *Paradise* whereby a little Ale-house with the sign on the chimney (*the Plough*, now *Adam and Eve*) to *Paynes-wick*, a pretty neat market-town having in it one fayr church with a spire, a school-house, and some good Inns for entertainment. Here, at this towne you begin to enter ye land of Clothiers." (*Tours*). This proves that Painswick had a school a quarter of a century earlier than declared by the Educational Authorities of today.

Probably, he trudged along with his rod, on his nag from the Henry VIIIth Inn at Portway (*Prinknash*), through several gates by the track thro' Paradise (yet roadless), just as Wesley did, sixty years later, as a fisher of Men.

Manor-Courts were held in the Chapel of St. Peter (N. aisle) and some transactions at the South porch : for the Tudor Church here had one, also. The town and its trade was not merely more lively by the increase of Stroud and Bisley, but was presently made more so by the raising of musters, pykemen, musqueteers and assessments of Arms under Warrants from the Lieutenants of the County and revaluations of landed property of all sorts. The individuals who suffered most from the latter, and most unjustly, were the Lord of the Manor being by birth of a Roman Catholic family, and William Rogers, (2) J.P. who had succeeded to Castle Hale in 1674 and travelled after the decease of his wife in 1682 to Rome, and other places on the continent using the classic Richard Lassels' Italian journeys and other books for his Guides—all which he bequeathed to the Chapter Library at Gloucester. His travelling experiences evidently persuaded him to his change of Faith, and as a consequence we presently find " Mr Rogers dubble-rated being a papist and a non-jurant. Sir Francis Jernegan is still dubble-rated." While, in 1693, although remaining an active magistrate until 1701, he is found 'surrendering part of his estate being a non-jurant.'

EDGE TYTHING, 1674.

	£	s	d
Giles Seaman (gent.) for the Court- orchard and that which belongeth to it, and for the other part of his lands (*i.e.* Abbots lands)		7	8
		14	3 ob.
Widd : Seaman (? his mother)		4	5 ob.
Hen : Gardner			4 ob.
George Dorwood (Clerk)		4	6
William Rogers (Gent.) (Castle Hale)	1	4	8
Edmund Webb	1	1	1
and for Will : Watts' land		1	6
Thomas Webb			8
and for the Mill and Land passed to him in Reversion	1	11	1 qr.
Widd : Webb		1	4
John Poole	1	7	4

	s	d
Thos. Clissold in right of his wife..		8
John Gardner of Great Horse Poole		3
John Hill, Gent.	14	4
Henry (S)tamage	3	1
John Gyde	18	5
William Pitt for great quarr	1	0
Edward Tunley		3

The whole rent for this year comes to £80 1s. 10d. qr.

(127 tythed people).

1674. SHEPSCOMB TYTHING, with the following names and sums:

s	d		s	d	
2	0	Roland Wood, Gent. [Ebbworth]	13	5	ob. George Phillips
1	0	Mr Nathaniel Ridler	17	1	ob. Thos. Loveday, Sen :
10	0	John Gardner	8	8	ob. Do. Jun :
	11	Giles Gardner		3	John Stephens
	5	Thomas Osborne (Mason)		4	Dan Hoskins
	8	John Mason (Milwright)		6	Edward Okey for his wife land
	6	Widd : Poole		10	Edward Pilewell
1	5	Widd : Hinton		1	ob. John Cudd
	1	John Wheeler		1	ob. Samuel Cudd
	4	Will : Millard		4	Anthony Cumpier
	2	John do.	1	11	Hannah Loveday, Widd.
	3	Giles do.		4	John Gibbins, Junior
	2	Widd : Rodway	13	11	John Cooke
	2	John do.	15	7	ob. Hen : and Thos : Gardner
	1	James Turner	10	1	Joseph Robins of London
	1	John Turner, Smith	12	11	Tho : Randle
	1	Jeffrey Sadler		9	John Osborne
	8	Robert Wotten (? Wathen)		2	Walt : Humphreys
	8	Lawrence Hathewell		4	Francis West
12	11	ob. Will. Osborne		6	Giles Wheeler
3	3	John do.		6	John Estcourt (Gent.)
	11	ob. Widd : Gardner		4	Will : Dowell
17	2	Edmund Clements			

(Ob = Obolus = ½d.)

FREEHOLDERS in Stroud-End that pay rent to the Lord of the Manor of Painswick :

	s	d
Rich. Webb	1	0
Henry Townsend	4	0
Rich : Blisse	1	8
The heires of Clissold's house (*Vatchmill*)	1	8
Widd : Watken ?		2
Sam : Knowles for his water tyt(he)		4
James Ellis	1	0

1674. SPONEBE(D) TYTHING. (74 persons).

	£	s	d
Hen : Beard (Gent.)	1	14	2
John Rodway		1	11
Robert Davis		4	1
Giles and Peter Watkins	1	0	11
Giles Watkins, Jun.			
John Mason (bodys maker)		1	0

	£	s	d
Walter Tocknell (Gent.)	1	0	8
Widd : Lewes	2	3	3
Rich. Gardner	1	11	9
Stephen Gardner	1	3	2
John Loveday		5	0
Rich : Gibbins		11	2
&c., &c.			
John Bridgeman, Esquire (for *Olivers*)			11

1674. STROUD-END TYTHING.
(John Poole, Reeve).

£	s	d		£	s	d	
1	4	4	John Webb (of the Hill)		12	5	
2	19	7	Widd : Webb		5	2	
1	9	5	Widd : Ffletcher			4	
	12	9	ob. Dan Niblett			2	
1	17	3	John Mayo			2	
		1	And for John Hamons				ob.
1	1	1¾	Thos. Clissold			2	
1	1	1¾	Samuel Webb				
1	12	3	ob. Sarah Gardner, Widd :		13	10	
	1	6	Edward Gardner		8	0	
	12	0	Thos. West		14	6	
	13	10	Widd : Pawlyn	1	2	4	
	4	2	John Pawlyn			1	ob.
	11	6	Robert Cooke (of Trilgate)			2	
	12	5	John Niblett			8	
	12	7	Walter Merrett		1	0	
	12	2	ob. Thos. Wynn		5	4	
1	3	0	Thos : Bliss (de Well Farm)			10	ob.
		1	Joseph Leech			3	
	18	11	Thos : Taylor			1	
1	12	6	ob. Will : Webb (de London)			4	
	1	0	Lawrence Wynn			1	
		1	Widd : Wynn		2	5	
		½	James Close		2	0	
		4	William Watkins			2	
							½

Giles Ffeild (Field) ..
Mary Turker ..
Will : Cooke Tylor ..
John do. do. ..
Hannah Loveday, Wid :
Rich : Blakney ..
Will : Ffriar ..
Thos : Bliss (de Brownsgreen) ..
Henry Winchcombe ..
Edward Okey ..
Will : Barnes ..
Widd : do. ..
Dan : Hoskyns ..
Bartholomew Edwards ..
Timothy Devenett ..
Thos : Clissold of Vatch Mill ..
Widd : Greening ..
Henry Rodway ..
Sarah Manning ..
Thos : Loveday, Sen : ..
„ „ Jun : ..
Thos : Bisley ..
Robert Jenner ..
Henry Gardner ..
Thomas Merrett ..

EDGE TYTHING, 1680.
"Thomas Gardner, Reeve of ye Manor of Painswick in the year 1680"
(on outside).

	£	s	d
Mr William Rogers	1	4	8
Giles Seaman (Gent.) and his mother	1	1	11½
George Dorwood (Clerk)		4	2
Mr Edmund Webb	1	2	7
Hen : Stamage		3	1
Will : Loveday	1	11	1
Widd : Webbe		1	4
Will : Loveday[1] for his wife's house			
Dan : Clarke		1	12
Will : Little		4	10
John King (Carpenter)			2
Dan Taylor			4
Thos : Clissold (Chandler)		1	0

(130 tythed people).

[1] He was a Quaker.

BRIEF OF 1636

AGREEMENT between Sir Hen. Jerningham Bt. and Sir Ralph Dutton Kt., to let him have PAINSWICK MANOR AND PARK AND BELONGINGS to farm on account of the Debts incurred amounting to £1410, by the first-named.

The tripartite indenture made Aug. 1 (a. 12 *Car.* 1), 1636, between Sir Ralph Dutton, Kt., of Standish, Co. Glouc., and Sir Henry Jernegam, of Cossey, Co. Norfolk, Bart., and Eleanor his wife. Sir Geo. Throckmorton of High Holborn (Kt.), Sir Gerard Fleetwood of Woodstock Park, Co. Oxf. (Kt). Richard Berkeley of Rendcombe, Esq., and John Dutton of Sherborne, Co. Glouc., Esq.—(friends, trusty and lawful men nominated by the principal parties)—demises grants and lets to farm the MANOR, RESIDENCE and PARK of PAINSWICK, CO. GLOUC., with all its rights members and appurtenances, by Sir Henry to Sir Ralph Dutton, together with Edgworth—of the clear annual value of £200, and then in his Majesty's hands taken and seized by vertue of the King's Writ of Extent upon an Indictment against Sir Henry Jernegan obtained by Sir Ralph Dutton in Easter term of a. 10. of his Majesty's reign (Oct. 26) and to his said Majesty assigned, which extent was had and made upon an Inquisition taken at Minchinhampton Nov. 4 a. 11. Car. 1. before the Sheriff, Edward Sheppard Esq. under a writ of the Court of Exchequer to him directed, whereby it was found by the oath of Robert Driver and other honest men and lawful of the said County that Sir Henry Jerningham was seized (a. 10. *Car.* 1) in his Demesne as of freehold for the term of his life without impeachment of waste of the premises and belongings above mentioned which were thereupon taken into the keeping of the King's Remembrancer. His Majesty did also assign and grant all these premises and their belongings together with Court-Leets, Views of Frank pledge, Reliefs, heriots, etc. of whatsoever kind belonging to the said Manor or appendent and all annual profits to the said Sir Ralph Dutton, Kt., to have and to hold by letters patent recited for so long a term as the said premises remain in the King's Majesty's hands by reason and pretence of the extent and Debt aforesaid—paying yearly to his Majesty, his heirs and successors 20 shillings on the feast of S. Michael and the Annunciation of the B.V. Mary at West minster, or, to the hands of the Sheriff of Gloucester.

The Agreement between the two parties had passed, by the advice and direction Sir Robert Heath Kt., Sergeant at Law and John Platt Esq. Counsellor at Law in writing under their hands. Sir Henry Jernegan and Dame Eleanor, his wife, at Westminster Court of the King's Bench on the morrow after Holy Trinity last past, did levy a fine into the hands of Sir Geo. Throckmorton, Sir Gerard Fleetwood, Richard Berkeley Esq. and John Dutton Esq. of the MANOR AND PARK OF PAINSWICK, together with all other messuages, lands, &c., wherein Sir Henry or Dame Eleanor had any interests or estate in Painswick and Edgworth—(excepting certain rents issuing out of the lands of one Richard Packer and others, amounting to £7 5 0 p.a.) by the name of the Manor of Painswick with the appurtenances, and of 10 messuages, 10 cottages, 10 tofts, 2 dovehouses, 10 barns, 10 gardens, 10 orchards, 300 acres of land, 100 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture, 300 acres of land, 100 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture, 300 acres of woods, 200 acres of heath and furze and common of pasture for all manner of cattle, in the 4 tithings and Edgworth—thereby granting to the aforesaid trustees to hold the same during the lives of Sir Henry Jernegan and Dame Eleanor and the life of either of them longest living.

But Dame Eleanor is to have paid to her her jointure out of the profits of the said Manor for stay and livelihood and maintenance ; and Sir Henry Jernegan, if he survive her, shall receive this likewise, and Sir Ralph Dutton may have, hold and peaceably enjoy the revenue and profit of the said Manor and Park, and its belongings and Sir Ralph Dutton shall have payed into their assigns, yearly, at the South porch of Painswick Church the sum of £340 (annuity), on the feasts of S. Michael and the Annunciation or within 21 days next after in equal portions for the sole benefit of Dame Eleanor, and after her decease to Sir Henry Jernegan for the term of his natural life, &c., &c., Sir Ralph Dutton is to have custody of all Court Rolls, Court books, rentals, surveyors, terriers, scripts and muniments pertaining to the said manor.

The debt incurred amounted to £1410.

The said Parties duly signed and sealed this Agreement (Aug. 1, 1636).

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DAYS OF CHARLES II., JAMES II., AND WILLIAM III.

SIR HENRY JERNINGHAM,[1] Bt., who lived at Painswick Lodge at this period, had married Mary daughter of Benedict Hall Esq. of High Meadow, Newland (F.D.). He died in 1680, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Francis, who was destined to retain his lordship of the Manor for nearly fifty years, that is to say, until the days of George II. Sources for information regarding the Manor History at this disturbed time are at present limited to but comparatively few documents ; but some of the more interesting items are those contained in fragments of the Books[2] of its Constables and Assessment-Lists, such as the following :—

" 1681. For work done to the Clock and Chimes to this second day of Sept., £5 and 5s. Samuel Webb and Giles Seaman, Churchwardens." [The Church Chest dates from 1685]. In 1686, the Rev. George Dorwood died and was buried in the Chancel of the Church. Two years later, William Rogers, Esq., J.P. (jun.), gave a treble bell to the peal, perhaps in memory of his late wife.[3] His father, William Rogers, had died in 1674 at Castle Hale. These were serious times.[4] 16 Jan., 1685. " Paid in expenses to Henry Woods, for keeping Thomas Smith a night for speaking some dangerous words that the Duke of Albemarle was gone to the Duke of Monmouth[5] with

[1] Grandson of 1st Baronet.

[2] Cf. Painswick Magazine for 1888-9, where the late Mr Uriah Davis, of Court House, carefully published some of their remains.

[3] Linc : Inn Admn. Regr. 1666, May 19. *William Rogers* son and heir of William *Rogers of Painswick*, Co. Glouc. (*generosus*). In the Rawlinson MS. (B 323, fol. 203, b) occurs the following notice of a Hatchment, formerly in the Church, commemorating the deceased wife of William Rogers, Esq. of Castle Hale : " In a hatchment on ye South side of ye Chancel is a memorial for a Gentlewoman y^t^ was buried elsewhere. The Coate is Rogers Impaling Hawley : vert, a saltire engrailed Argent. At ye bottome M[emoriæ] S[acrum] Susannæ Conjugis Guillelmi Rogers de Castro Halense, quæ in puerperio obiit 18 May, 1682."

[4] 1685.—" A troublesome year, never to be forgot by them " (*i.e.*, the Constables). Charles II. died in February.

[5] The natural son of King Charles II. We must recall here that the Rye-House Plot against the throne in favour of Monmouth occurred in 1683. In 1684, Arms were directed to be seized in all disaffected districts : pikes, pistols, rapiers, birding-pieces, swords and bandoliers, partizans, and ' musquetts.'

a great army, 2d." In the previous year (1684), by virtue of an Act of Parliament for raising by subsidy the King's Militia, a rate was agreed upon of one farthing per pound for the inhabitants of Painswick ; also, a farthing for the repairing of the broken bridge at Chepstow, as well as another farthing for the Constables of the Parish for moneys disbursed by them in the execution of their duties. Walter Merrett was the Constable ; his colleague was John Cooke. Pd. to Robt. Symmons for a musquet, 12s. Pd. for horse-hire to Sapperton, 1s. Pd. to Mr Skidmore for 2¼ yrds. of fine blue cloth 13s. 6d. Spent when we went to buy the Arms, 1s. 6d. Spent at the taking of Sarah Gardener at the Hole and bring her before the Justice, 1s. 6d. Spent when I arrested John Gardner, 8d. Spent when I arrested Benjamin Weston, 8d. " Item. I gave to William Miles, a lame seaman that had an order to be carryed from one parish to another towards Westchester (*i.e. Woodchester*), 4d., and for a horse to carry him to Standish, and to a boy that went with him, 6d." Will : Shewell for Combe-house (Edge), 1s. 9d. Widow King for Hawkwell, 1s. 3d. Widow Cooke for Iyfold, 3s. 6d. John King, de Hill, 5s. 3d. John Poole, 10s. Wm. Clements (of *the Croft Hambutts*), 4d. Henry Tamage, 4½d. " Item. Gave to six poor seamen that had a pass, 1s."

The receipts of Cooke this year (1684) contain some interesting trifles. Giles Seaman, Gent., pays 6s. 3d., William Rogers, Gent., 11s. 3d., William Little, 1s. 6d. For the ' George Inn,'[1] 9d. Michael Linnkinholt pays 4½d. Mrs Anne Trotman widow 3d. [She was, by birth, Anne Trye ; widow of Rev. John Trotman (Died 1656) of Cam and Cranham, and Rector, formerly, of Newnton County Wilts]. Ralph Adey for the ' Crowne ', 9d. John Little for his horses 1s. 6d. James Chew, 3d. Samuell King for the ' Cross Keys,' 9d. Josiah and Nehemiah Dorwood, for Lords Mead,[2] 1s. 6d. John Rodway, for Ifold Ground, 1s. Richard Gardner of Damsells, 9s. Giles Seaman Gent. for Abbots Land (Farm) 2s. Geo. Fletcher Gent. (for Ebbworth)[3], or Mr Tocknell, 11s. 9¾d. Mr William Warneford or Mr Zachariah Hyett, 6d. Daniel Blysse (one of the Constables) lived at the *Welle* farm, rebuilt as we see it, no doubt when the stepping-stone lane from Wick street was widened for traffic down to the crossing of the stream by Twynings Mill.

[1] This Inn occupied the old house (c. 1660) of two gables, now a private residence, at right angles to the Gables. It underwent serious alterations fifty years ago when cellars were formed. The left side, however, is in good order, and it contains deep 17th century fire-place and some panelled plaster-work, embodying Scotch Thistles (*i.e.* for Stuart restoration).

[2] Just below Castle Hale.

[3] This is the old Farm-Land of Ebbworth Manor ; until the Dissolution, in the possession of St. Peter's Abbey.

		£	s	d	
April 11,1684	Spent goeing to Hampton to carry in the return of the Ale-house Keepers	1	10	0	
May 27, 1684	Paid for the trimming of a coate	0	12	6	
	„ two swords and one set of bandileres	1	0	7	
	„ two buff Belts for swords and a Pike	0	16	6	
	„ making the Coate	0	4	0	
	„ ribband for a Coate	0	2	0	
	Paid Ambrose Hewitt	0	6	8	
	Paid for a Buffe Coate	2	12	6	
	A musketeer had	0	2	3	a day
	A pike-man	0	1	11	

Spent in meeting the Dep : Lieutenant in settling the *Militia*, 8d.

Memor : there is due to John Gyde for his soldiers pay, £30 4s. 6d.

1685 Given to the Ringers for proclaiming our Lord the King, 1s.

Give two wimmen wich had children both wich had a grate losse by fier, 6d.

Spent in taking and keeping Ursula Kinge, 8s. 6d.

Item to poor travellers, 1s. 6d.

Item in bringing 4 sturdy rogues before ye justice, 1s.

Daniel Blysse, 16s.

Geo : Wicke, 4 days' pay, 16s.

For going to Cirencester with ye soldiers, 2s.

Pd. Thomas Twynninge, musqueteer, 4s. 6d.

Paid at the Assizes for bridges, 16s. 11d.

1686 Item paid six that watched the Stock-House[1] all night when there were four rude fellows that threatened to fire ye towne, 1s. 6d.

Item. Gave the said prisoners bread and beer, 6d.

Item to John Turner for irons for ye whipping-post, 1s.

Stephen West promessed before his worship Mr Rogers to paye 40s. to Geo : Wicke in a moneth's time.

Gave to an Oxford scholar being in distress, 2d.

Gave to 13 maimed soldiers, 1s.

1690 Item. Gave a Dutchman in distress, 6d.

„ „ blind soldier, 6d.

„ „ a poor, sick soldier, 1s.

„ „ to a poor woman with three children, 8d.

[1] Beside the Churchyard gate.

1690 Pd. Samll Baker for lodging a poor man his wife and children and bringing them to Cranham, 3s.

1691 Paid for whipping, lodging, and bringing two persons before ye justice, 4s.

Paid to Stephen Page for making a ducking-stool, 9s.

Paid to Thomas Cook for ironwork for ye same, 1s. 2d.

1692 To two Dutchmen with a pass, 2d.

Paid for whipping Edward Estcourt, 1s.

1693, Sept. 16. Gave two maimed soldiers, 8d., and four more 1s. 8d., and 4 creeples with a pass, 1s. 4d.

1695 Item. Gave to 12 soldiers taken at Brest by the French, 2s.

1697 Mar. 7. For carrying 3 creeples to Cranham, 8d.

1698 To James Vandervield,[1] a shipwrecked merchant, wife and three children, a pass, 6d.

1699 To conveyance of a poor boy, sick of ye smallpox, to Upton, by a warden's order, 1s.

Oct. 7. To Jno. Neval, James Grayson, wives and 4 children, conveyance to *Cranham*, having a pass, 11d.

To Edw. Budden, Jno. Vincent, Robt. Wall, 1s., being poor seamen wives and children, 10 in number, Pass 8d.

What sure tokens are the foregoing items, of the needs, the pressures, the intolerances, and the crude barbarities, of that age! The seamen, cruelly *pressed*, thrown back by the sea, and the ragged soldiers returned from the Irish and Flanders campaigns, wounded, lamed, or mutilated, to wander from parish to parish to find food on their ways home again just how they may! They seem to be provided only with passes that they carry in their wretched dirty pockets or else only in their suffering faces, as they arrive to be confronted by the local Constables with their good-nature or—their rough caprice.

In 1696, Mr William Rogers alienated his estate to Mr Latton of Latton (*Wilts.*). The stables are mentioned with a Barn, as having been 'lately-built.' In 1701, however, the house became leased to Thomas Browne, Esq., who took with it six acres called White-wallend (or White-land) now 'White-Hall' together with Lullingworth, Dryknaps, Broad Hamm, Hambutts, Osburne's *piece* and Mill-Close next to Kings-Mill: in all 58 acres.

By 1710, it was entirely sold to Wm. Greenwood Esq. of Brize Norton (*Co. Oxon*,) owing to the intolerance of the time towards Rome.

As to the Court-House, after Mr Giles Seaman died, (Sept., 1689) the

[1] A Dutch-man.

Court of the Quarter Sessions made an order to lodge a Constable there. A County Record-Book however, of that year states, " It is ordered by this Court that the Order formerly made in this Court that the Court-House of Payneswick should be made use of for a Constable, be set aside." (Query, as unsuitable ?) At the Trinity Sessions, in the same year, an order made by the Justices, William Rogers, John Wagstaffe, John Hall, and William Hayward, was confirmed, " appointing and allotting the Court-House, at Painswick, to be a Conventicle, or Meeting-House, for Dissenters to exercise their religion, in pursuance of his majesty's late gracious declaration of indulgence." Thus the Court-House, or part of it, became the first Dissenting Chapel in Painswick. Probably its access was still the original one leading by a path or track from Tibbywell and across Hale Lane to its now disused gate.

Mr Seaman died in it, considerably in debt and probably occupying but a portion. The Will mentions a bedroom over the hall and its furniture, and the cottage[1] near Castle Hale Stile. His Sand Pitts in Hamm were mortgaged to George Smith, as well as six acres there. The value of his chattels amounted to £55. In 1691, his widow (?), Elizabeth Seaman, was brought before the Justices (probably Petty Sessions, held at the Falcon Inn). The last mention of her occurs in 1698, after which date the name of Seaman vanishes from Painswick History.[2]

After the death of Dorwood the living was presented by Sir Robert Atkyns, Philip Sheppard, and Roland Wood, as Trustees for this Parish, to Rev. Samuel Rogers, who held it until 1702. He was however presented again March 3, 1686, by King James II., or, perhaps, his disputed presentation was merely ratified. " There is a large Glebe belonging to the Vicarage worth £60 yearly "—wrote Sir Robert Atkyns,—" the demeans of the Manner pay no tithes ; the Vicar hath Bangrove-mead in lieu of them."[3] Sir Robert, Historian of Gloucestershire, and Lord of the Manors of Pinbury and Sapperton, knew Painswick particularly well,[4] and it is to be

[1] Still there—1907 upon the foundations of *the Court-house.*

[2] That the sittings of the magistrates continued to be local (i.e. *at the Falcon*) seems probable from the following : 1714. Expenses when I took Ann Bailey before ye Justices, and paid for having her whipped, 4s. and 6d. For drink by ye Churchwardens' Order when the King (Geo. I.) was proclaimed at Painswick, £1. But the Petty Sessions were chiefly held at Minchinampton or at Stonehouse.

[3] " The estate of ye Lord of ye Manor is Tythe-free in lieu of which he gave a mead called Lord's mead to ye Vicar, worth £9 a year, and there is an estate of £20 p.a., and tythe-free, from ye Lord of ye Manor's Estates and is called Lord's Meadows." Circa 1712. (Rawlinson MSS. Bodleian).

[4] He presented the living in 1685. May 27, 1684, John Cooke, Constable of Painswick, entered in his account-book ' Cost me in going to speak with Sir Robert Atkyns, 10d.'

regretted he did not find time to tell us a good deal more than he has done about it. But the quarrels over the elections of the Vicars remained a chronic scandal.

In the Furney MSS. (V. 3, fol. 150), we read :—

" Not far from the north side of the Towne ye famous Painswick Lodge, the pleasant seat of Sir Francis Jerningham : on her east side is Longridge : on her south side is Wickridge ; and on her west side standeth Huddy-Knowle Hill ;[1] which are all of them well-replenished with woods of Beech."

" This Parish is reckoned to be ye best in ye county, standing on ye side of a hill, encompassed with hills and woods on each side. Ye Lord is now Sir Francis Jerningham, whose ancient mansion is called ' Ye Lodge,' pleasantly seated on ye N.E. side of ye towne, and was once compassed with a parke."[2]

" Here is a small market every Tuesday, and their is usually chosen a Mayor, which is only a ' titular ' office, without ye least authority." [The writer was confusing it with Randwick's mock-mayor].

" On Pitchcombe [*i.e.* Shepscombe] Green standeth a gallows which was first erected there by Sir Anthony Kingston, King's Marshal, after ye Rebellion in ye west against ye King Edward ye 6." The stump of the post is said to have been visible in 1790.

Although Daniel Defoe, soon after the opening of the 18th century, indicates the decline of the Cloth-Trade, the prosperity of Stroud and Painswick continued. The wool distributed by the Clothiers among their employees was spun and woven in the cottages and dyed and finished on being returned to the mills by the water-side : so that the streets of these towns continually resounded with warp and shuttle, and the mills of the Webbs, Tocknells, and Lovedays, kept putting forth rich loads of Red, White and Blue Cloth. ' The beautifullest scarlets (he says) and other grand colours that are anywhere in England, perhaps in any part of the world.' He evidently forgot those of Florence : that had set the example.

At the beginning of the 19th century there were above 20 cloth mills in the parish of Painswick. At Domesday there were four (*flour*)-mills. In 1928, there were but two, including one for now-diminishing hair-pins.

The Cap-mill rebuilt since Elizabeth's day and added to, belonged to Henry Webbe from 1664 and then to his widow until 1697 when

[1] *i.e.* The Edge.

[2] The ancient Park had been cut up into fields already. That process had begun in the reign of James I. The modern or 19th Cent. Painswick Park was created out of fields adjoining Herings Farm, including a field called ' Great Node ; ' (L. Nodus : a knot). The Node was one of the fields appropriated to the Chantry Chapel (c.) 1493 built by W. Collins, *i.e.*, the present eastern chancel belonged to the Abbey of Llantony at Gloucester.

it passed to Jasper Selwin of the Matson-Kings-Stanley family, who retained it for many years. Later, the demand for Caps that 'officially' so long had differentiated various trades and also social grades, by shapes, colours, or materials, died away. But the Clothier, as employer and capitalist, and the *Domestic System* of piece-work, spun or woven in the home, flourished. Gloucestershire could boast c. 300,000 sheep on her farms which the advent of the turnip and its near relatives (c) 1735 as winter-food on these hills, was enormously to increase. Every victory that Marlborough, Rooke, Benbow, and the Keppels won increased our advantages in trade over our nearest rivals; yet the fluff, the strong drink, and the small closed windows gravely discounted them.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS — NONCONFORMIST COMMUNITIES — THE PARISH BELLS — ABRAHAM RUDHALL — WOAD — GEORGE WHITEFIELD — THE FALCON — SPORTS — LIGHTNING STRIKES THE CHURCH — DISTRESS IN PAINSWICK AND STROUD — RIOTERS AT PAGANHILL — REPEAL OF CYDER TAX — GEORGE III. AND QUEEN CHARLOTTE — SALE OF THE MANOR — THE LODGE RESERVED — LADY BEDINGFIELD'S VISIT TO PAINSWICK IN 1819 — FINIS.

CHIEF among benign influences handed on in Painswick from the XVIIth cent. to the XVIIIth, besides a School for her children, must be reckoned that of the Society of Friends. The Doctrines of George Fox may have reached Painswick from Gloucester, or Nailsworth, or from Cirencester. Probably the religious dissensions prevalent here (as previous chapters of this work have shown) during the Civil War and Commonwealth facilitated their adoption. The actual date of their reception may have been in or before 1656, for the first burial in the Dell Cemetery[1] was that of 'Ales, wife of Walter Humphries, 22nd of first month, 1657,' while burials near the Meeting-House, in Withymead Lane, did not commence until more than a century later. The first of the latter entered in the book kept for the purpose by the Society of Friends (now at Gloucester, and access to which places the present writer still more in debt to the kindness of William Bellows and F. Reynolds), is that of 'Bridget, daughter of Joseph and Hannah Davis, 4th of 3rd month, 1770.' Nevertheless, occasional burials continued to take place at the Dell until 1819. In 1928 it has been carefully put in order.

On examining the slabs yet visible at the latter secluded spot adjoining the Dell Farm upon four of them are to be seen the name of Loveday, and as this well-to-do and very ancient Painswick family (A.D. 1280), then owned the mill and fields immediately below the Dell, it becomes probable that it was not only the mainstay of local Quakerism but the donor of the ground. With the Lovedays were associated the Cudds, Hintons, Druitts, and Masons, and

[1] The stone style is inscribed M.M. 1712. In 1429 a field called Le Delle belonged here to John Green, 'juxta le Gracehill.'

Samuel Wheeler. Since writing, a letter of the late Mr Joseph Davis (dated 21, ix., 1871) has been put into the Author's hands which confirms this conclusion, while it throws valuable light on the History of 'the Friends' in Painswick.

"The Lovedays were Friends at the earliest period of the Society, and were owners of a large property in Painswick, and I have no doubt they gave the Meeting-House Ground, and also the Dell. I believe my grandfather's grandfather, Thomas Loveday (d. 11 Feb. 1690), built the house in Vicarage Lane, where my uncle, Daniel Roberts, lived and died,[1] and that the Meeting-House ground was part of that property; and within my own knowledge a considerable estate surrounding the Burial Ground at the Dell belonged to the Lovedays. There were in all at least a hundred burials there, and thirty-five at the Meeting-House. Marriages at Painswick commenced 1658, and are mentioned to have been (made) with the consent of Nailsworth May Meeting, and in the M.H. at Painswick. There were 22 up to 1776. I have heard my father say that he had heard that in his grandfather's time (who died in 1762), the Meeting-House on a First Day morning was quite full."[2] It is now used by one community of 'Plymouth Brethren.'

The Burials at the latter ground, beginning with Bridget Davies and Richard Stanley Davis, 1770-1779, for the most part have been Hintons,[3] Merrells,[4] and Padburys. The last of the latter family, Miss Lydia Padbury,

[1] This should be no other than Yew Tree House (formerly Mundays) in Vicarage Lane, now the residence of the Misses Gibbs. In 1796 it is described in a Court Roll as occupied by Mr Daniel Roberts, and containing a garden and orchard of two acres. The date of the House is of the 17th century, and the yew trees in front of it may be nearly as old; but the splendid specimen at the bottom of the garden may date from the death of Elizabeth. The complicated monogram above the porch is of c. 1790, and appears to include D. or Deborah Roberts as D.R. within E. LOVEDAY. Mr Edward Loveday was one of the Overseers of Painswick from 1778-1800. His heir was Daniel Roberts.

[2] Joseph Davis died, January 16, 1872, aged 81. He was great-grandson to Mr Axtell Roberts, who married, 1712, Hannah, daughter of Thomas Loveday. He lived at The Elms, Cotham Hill, Bristol. Axtell Roberts was son of Daniel Roberts, of Chesham, Co. Bucks. The ownership of the Dell Cemetery became vested in the Hinton family, members of which were seized of it as '2 Lugg of Land inclosed by a wall,' in 1762, 1782, and 1816, when William Hinton surrendered it to the use of Joseph Davis, his heirs and assigns.

At the Dell. *John Hinton*, Hatter, of this Town, departed this life the 3rd of 4 mo. and was interred the 10th of same, 1777.

Mary Hinton d. of *John Hinton* and Mary his wife, died 25 of 6 mo. 1780.

[3] *Robert Hinton*, Clerk of Parish d. Sept. 15, 1797. *Richard Hinton*, do., d. 25 Oct. 1800.

[4] *John Merrell* depd. ys life the 7th day of ye 11th mo. new style, 1753.

Daniel Merril, Baker, depd. this life the 21st of 1st month 1790, and was interred on 2nd day being the 25th of the same. Aged nearly 71 years.

died in 1886 aged 72 years. The house of the Padburys is now called Hazelbury House. Among the last of the Friends living at Painswick was Mr Samuel Bowly (1884) who resided at Horsepools, a cultivator of rare flowers as well as a strenuous Temperance reformer. Mr James Atkins of Rose Cottage, a locally-famous Botanist, will also be remembered. To him is due the laying-out and planting of the *New Cemetery* (c.) 1864.

But the last familiar face and figure of a Friend, not rarely to be seen here, even in 1900, was that of the late John Bellows,[1] whose broad-brimmed hat and neat collarless brown coat recalled earlier times. The first ' Friends ' seem to have dressed much as the Puritans did—close-cropped, with a long black cloak, and a long vest having a linen collar, or ' turn-over ' ; while the women merely differed from others by omitting ribbons to their caps. At their meetings in the olden days the men wore high-crowned hats, and the women ' cuerpo-hoods ' (1693). Otherwise, cap still expressed caste.

The Act of Uniformity passed in 1662, as is well known, subjected all sections of Christian ' Independence ' to severe and most unmerited suffering. Its effects may be judged superficially by the fact that it caused some two thousand clergy to leave the Church. The Act of Toleration in 1689 in turn brought them relief, and they were permitted (as noticed) to meet for prayer at Court-House in that year. We do not, however, learn any detail regarding the ' Congregational Independents ' here until 1705, or over two hundred years ago. At that time, we find them to have been represented in Painswick by the Rev. Mr Tippetts, since which date they have proved themselves to be a moving force for good. Their chapel occupied the site of the present one in Gloucester Street, which took its place in 1803. The latter was restored in 1892, and it contains a Morris-Burne-Jones stained window. The following is a list of the clergy :

Leonard Tippetts, 1705-1714.
Leonard Edwards, 1714 (?)-34.
William Adam, 1734-1750.
Wm. Morley, 1767.
Wm. Bedow, 1787-8.
Cornelius Winter (the Biographer of Whitefield),[2] 1788-1808. (Portrait here).
John Dunlop, 1848-1850.
William Rhead, 1853-9.
Thos. Davies, M.A. (Göttingen), 1863-7.
Henry Young, 1868-70.
Francis Smith, 1871-6.
John Aspinall, 1877-1884.
Samuel Thomas, 1885-1900.
Frederick Wm. Brown, 1900-8.

[1] Mr Bellows (May, 1902) lies in the new cemetery amid the ancient hills he loved so well. There also lies Sidney Dobell, the Poet, in a truly appropriate grave. He gave Painswick pre-eminence among Gloucestershire beauty-spots.

[2] We find him witness to the marriage of Nathaniel Burdock and Elizabeth Winn, 19 May, 1803.

George Garlick,[1] 1808-1821.
Robert Meek, (?)1821-9.
Elisha Martin, 1830-1843.
James Burrell, 1843-7
H. B. Oddy, 1912-13.
Reginald Bartlett, 1914-15.
John Trethewey, 1915-27.
W. H. Jefferies.

In 1731, the five bells, which constituted the peal in the Parish Church Tower, were re-cast by Abraham Rudhall at Gloucester in honour of the coming Coronation of George II.; which event was celebrated here with great rejoicings, Mr Downes (1702) being still Vicar in residence.

During the previous thirty years the Dyers of Painswick cloth had undertaken to grow their own woad[2] for dyeing, a proceeding which had exercised the minds of many, more especially that of the Vicar in question. In consequence, not a small share of the fields, which formerly had been sown with corn and rape-seed, and which had been tythed for these crops, became appropriated by a plant which can now be found in the county only beside the Severn (it is said) at one spot. The tythes of woad, it was considered, should belong to the Rector or Impropriator in lieu of great tithes. Nevertheless, woad was now grown also upon lands which had been yielding tythe-hay to the Vicar; and this tythe-hay grew on all such mead as had never been ploughed or broken up. This the local folk knew by the name of Stean (stone) mead. (Cf. *stean-bridge*.)

The difficulties were settled by a thorough re-visitation of all the ploughed and unploughed land in the Parish of Painswick, by the Vicar in conjunction with Mr Edmund Wick, the Impropriator (Ap. 10, 1722).

In 1739 (April 11) arrived, to the great excitement of the town, the famous Methodist preacher, George Whitefield (B.A., Oxford), aged but 25 years, son of the proprietor of the Bell Inn at Gloucester.

The Preacher's diary contained the following entries :—

"April 11.—Set out for Painswick, where I preached to a very large congregation from the School House Stairs."

"April 14.—At three, preached again at Painswick, to double the number I had before."

"June 29.—In my brother's field (at Gloucester), to a large and affected congregation; then, to above 3,000 people, in the street, at Painswick."

Parish pulpits were denied him, as a rule. The next evening, Saturday,

[1] Rev. G. Garlick contributed £2 2s. to the fund for the Parish Church Organ in 1813. He lived at '*Lovedays*' south of Churchyard: not so-called, then: nor correctly, now.

[2] Woading a cloth was done preparatory to dyeing it black. The importation of Indigo superseded Woad. (Cf. Report 41. App: 1, p. 515 of the Deputy-Keeper of Public Records.

June 30, " Spent the evening with some Christian friends ; lay at Painswick ; and preached (at) about ten in the morning to near 2,000 on the Bowling-Green belonging to the George Inn (at), Stroud."[1]

It was owing to these incidents that Whitefield found his Biographer at Painswick, namely, in Cornelius Winter, then Nonconformist Minister, and a man of Dutch descent. Whitefield had, in fact, just returned from America. He was ordained deacon June 20, 1736, before he went there. He was now eagerly collecting funds for an Orphanage out there. He died at Newbury Port, near Boston, Massachusetts, Sept. 30, 1770 ; and must often, in that far off land, have recalled the Cotteswold villages familiar to his boyhood, and the scenes of such brilliant early successes in his profession.

The mention of the Bowling-Green at Stroud, recalls the fact that there was, of course, one at Painswick at that period, situated, as it to-day is, behind the newly-rebuilt ' Falcon ' (1711)—an Inn which we saw had taken its name from the noble bird borne as the crest of the Jerninghams, though quite another noble bird was also familiar there, as will be seen. There the gentlemen of Painswick were wont to spend afternoons vastly as they thought to their health of mind and body.

The Gloucester Journal of June, 1731, shows in fact that the Falcon owned entertainments in which Stroud shewed a friendly competition.—'Notice is hereby given that on Wednesday, the 30th of this inst., June, will be fought at the Falcon Inn, in Painswicke, a COCK-MATCH, between the Gentlemen of Painswicke and the Gentlemen of Stroud : they are to produce twenty-four cocks, ten of which they are obliged to fight for two Guineas a battle, and ten Guineas the odd battle.' In those days towns fought one another with cocks, just as to-day they do at cricket. The chief Inn at Stroud was the ' Swan.'

At this time the Lord of the manor found it needful to threaten with prosecution anyone obstructing the collection of the Toll at Painswick, as well as those who refused to pay it. There were of course no rollers upon these hills, and traffic and cattle did unceasing damage to the roads and made the steeper ones chronically risky. Above all was it important to repair continually the bridges over the streams. The collections by the Constables of these bridge-tolls was a matter of prime responsibility.

Altogether, this year of Coronation seems to have been a merry one at Painswick. On March the first, being the Queen's birthday, the Ringers

[1] It must be common knowledge that both Whitefield and Wesley betray no tendency to underestimate their audiences in point of numbers, and they were about equally elated at their crude emotional effects upon tired mothers and susceptible persons, and made no secret of their self-satisfaction. There can be no doubt their numbers are seldom trustworthy.

greatly distinguished themselves by ringing, within 3 hours 36 minutes, a whole peal of triples, consisting of 5040 changes, to the great satisfaction of the auditors, not only townsmen, but strangers, and those that were judges of the Art, of which there were several present. They began at 10 a.m. and finished at 1.36 p.m. Invalids were not considered in those days.

On June 26, 1732, Sports were held upon the Hill, and races of all kinds were run, some by persons tied up in sack-bags :—' as the contributors shall direct, no less than six to start.' ' The same day (says the advertisement) a very good Holland Shift will be run for by six young women.' It may have been upon the occasion of the death of George II Oct. 25, 1760, that the oldest yew trees were planted by the Churchyard paths. Rudder first mentions them with gravelled paths 1779.

In reference to Rudhall, it is of interest that the bells re-cast by his firm should have rung for his son's wedding here. On June 2, 1770, was married by license of the Bishop, to Sarah Packer, Abraham Rudhall, in Painswick Church. That he resided here not a little, is seen by the fact that when Mary, daughter of Daniel Packer, clothier, of Painswick, married (in 1782), Nathaniel Winchcombe, of Frampton, Abraham Rudhall signed the Register as prime witness. This bridegroom ten years after this assumed the ancient name and arms of Clifford, and died October 31, 1801, leaving Henry Clifford, of Frampton, his heir.

Let us glance again at some of the inhabitants during these middle days of the XVIIIth century. The Rev. John Wiltshire was Vicar from 1737-52, and lived at the same old house, the home of former Vicars, called ' Ludloes,' in Vicarage Lane. During his ministration, and after it, Painswick suffered severely from endemic small-pox (1741 and 1756-8). This scourge indeed seems to have been chronic here through the rest of this century. The patients were taken to be nursed in the house of S. Winn, at Washbrook. The physician was Dr J. C. Jenner, living 1786.

Mr Rowden lived (1742) in a new-built house, perhaps that at the bottom (R) of Bisley Street (fronted at that date.)

The Court-House was occupied after Mr Burford by Mr Nathaniel Adams (1722-40) from Minchinhampton, and with it he rented Dry Knapps and two lower grounds at the bottom (Washbrook), ' next Mr Hawkins' mill-pond.' Later it passed to the Pallings from Sheephouse and Brownshill ; and from Edward Palling (1789) to William Caruthers who owned until c. 1840, whose relations, Littles, Bradstocks and Wathens lived there until in 1856 it became a ladies school kept by Misses E. and S. Williamson, and later kept until 1898 by the late Mr Uriah Davis, a distinquished teacher, whose son Cecil became Author of *Gloucestershire* ' *Brasses*.' Herings

Farm, until 1733, belonged to John Adey who rebuilt it, but the property then passed to Mr Charles Hyett, a Gloucester Solicitor, who served the office of reeve of the Manor in 1736. He pulled down the gabled farm and built the central portion of the present Painswick House. He became member for Gloucester. William Lane, Esq. held land in Washwell, and the Capels and Barretts were firmly established along the Wick Street at the Grove, and at Painsfield. William Little had ' Whether-Close.' Castle Hale, in 1750, was occupied by Louis Pryse, Esq., who resided there until his decease in 1780, after which it passed to his daughter, Margaret, wife of Edward Leveson-Leveson, Esq, in whose family it remained until 1795.[1] Mr Charles Baker, F.S.A., an architect, in 1835, re-built the front and re-made the avenue. Olivers belonged (1745) to Nicholas Webb. There were still but few free-holders (under twenty) in the Manor. One of these was the Rev. Philip Sheppard, son of Samuel, and Lord of the manor of Minchinhampton, where they lived in the large house next the Church. The Sheep-House[2] was lived in and restored by Mr John Palling. The Tocknells family lived and milled successfully beyond the Gardners at Damsels.[3]

[1] *Rev. John Fearon* (*Vicar*) lived at Castle Hale, and died there 1823, tenant of Mr W. Baylis, who had bought it, (d. 1837). He was at Wrissendine, (Co. Rutland), until 1784, and in 1780 at Knipton, Co. Leicester. But in 1785 he and Isabel his wife are found in Painswick, and had a son born (on May 3) to them. Mr Baylis's dau. married Mr Ch. Baker.

[2] The *Sheephouse* remaining is partly of 17th c., shortened by loss of an Eastern or third gable, converted by shortening to form a yard. The original stone Floor is still there beyond the Pump. It has 2 circular stone stair-ways which are probably older still. *Edward Palling* succeeded *John P.* and resided there in 1784. This family had Sheep-house for sixty years, at least. They were there in 1723.

[3] *Edw : Tocknell* of Painswick and Bristol had a daughter born 1676/7 named Elizabeth. She married *George Newland* of Bristol (Merchant) and his initials G. N., and the date 1716 are on the water-pipes at Tocknells Farm, where the alterations done by him are characteristic of that period. He shortened the gables rough-casted the surfaces, and inserted a sun-dial and certain windows. The Lions over the gate-posts are his also. He died Apr. 15 1756, aged 80. His mill stood close to it ; south.

George Newland (gent.) born 1712/13 died 8 Nov. 1782 ; son of *George Newland* above=Mary Ann daughter to William and Mary *Marshall*. The latter died Jan. 4 1784, aged 60.

Burials at Painswick :—1721, May 1, *Geo. Newland*. 1726, Ap. 22, Eliz. Newland. 1736, May 26, *Wm. Marshall*. 1740, Sept. 14, Mary Marshall (*widow*). Geo. Newland, born 1743/4, lived at *Tocknells* sincerely beloved and died Jan. 5, 1791.

Baptismal Register (*Painswick*) :—1743, Sept. 16, George, son of George and Mary Ann *Newland*. 1765, July 23, *George Newland* marries Elizabeth *Capel*—by license. 1791, Buried Jan. 11, *George Newland* (*gent*).

Arms, granted 1753. Arg. on a chevron between 3 lions rampant, sable 3 crescents. Argent: *Newland*: impaling Gules semèe of crosses—crosslet fitchèe and a lion rampant Argent : *Capel*.

In 1740-41, a South Aisle[1] was added to the Church, and it was decided to re-roof it with tiles instead of lead. *John Wesley* rode June 25 1742 (Friday) from Evesham to *Painswick:* and where, "in the evening, I declared to all those who had been fighting and troubling one another, from the beginning hitherto, about rites and ceremonies, and modes of worship and opinions, that the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." Sat. 26 "I was desired to call upon Mr Wathen 'the pillar of the Church' in these parts—I had appointed to preach in Stroud at noon, etc. Sund: 27 I preached in *Painswick* at seven, on the spirit of Fear and the spirit of Adoption. I went to Church at 10 and heard a remarkable discourse asserting that we are justified by Faith alone; but that this faith (which is the previous condition of justification), is the complex of all virtues, including all holiness and good works, in the very idea of it."

In the afternoon he addressed a crowd at *Randwick* after the service there, and in the evening again, at *Minchinhampton Common*. Mond: 28 "I rode to *Bristol*." Diaries of J. Wesley (Ed: Rhys.). In 1765 (March 25), the Church was damaged by lightning, which struck the belfry door, knocked a few stones out of place and made the bells resound. The sexton's son was winding the clock at the moment, and he had a narrow escape. But as we find marrriages[2] taking place in the Church within three days of the occurrence it may be concluded that the rest of the structure escaped damage.

The following year was one of great distress for Painswick and Stroud, and indeed all through the county, owing to the dearness of corn. Rioters had to be dispersed at Paganhill by the magistrates, and certain of them were taken, tried and executed at Gloucester and Cowley; Shepscombe gallows being decayed and long out of use. A Relief Committee sat at Stroud, at the George Inn.

[1] It was carried upon four Doric columns and held a second gallery. It was entered at both ends as well as by a south porch. The organ was situated in an earlier (1657) gallery under the Tower, on the wall of which was likewise the Vestry. The present Chancel contained pews.

[2] The House called *Byfield House* in High Street (now *Bisley Street*) was occupied 1728 by *William Knight* (d. 1774) and *Hester*, his wife, d. of *Geo.* and *Anne Wick* of *Wick Street House*. She died 1742, aged 45 and being the dau: of one of the *Impropriators* and sister of *Edmund Wick* his heir, she was buried in the Chancel of *Pk. Church* upon the south wall of which is to be seen her bust in a Frame-monument to-day. Their son Ed. d. 1747. But *William K.* (2) succeeded and married, 1776 (Oct. 15), *Mary Humphries*. Their dau. and heir m. Dec. 16 1802, Mr *Robert Wight of Tetbury*, who gave £20 and more in 1813 to the *New Organ* here. His son *Rob. Wight* (2) was Churchwarden in 1844. The family of Wight lived at *Byfield House* still in 1864. It was first *so-called* in 1792: and probably the field next it became *Wm. Knight's*: and gave rise to the name. The Adeys of *Ifold* and *Herrings* had owned adjoining property (*House*) and originally Byfield, also.

Some years later we obtain a glance at a bright summer. The Lodge-Steward writes (Aug. 3, 1776) to his master, Sir William Jerningham, at Cossey, Co. Norfolk : " We have had a catching time for the Hay till within a few days past, the weather is now excessive Hott. We hope for a good Harvest, being a very good crop of corn on the ground, especially barley, and such a crop of fruit of all sorts was never remembered. Syder has been offered for 10s. per hogshead, a hundred gallon to each hogshead, so we may expect to see much drunkenness amongst the lower sort of People." " P.S. It is needless for me to say anything about our late Election, as you know the return was made against us." The extremely unpopular Cyder-tax of 1763 had lately been repealed.

The Courts of the manor (and sometimes Petty Sessions) were then held in St. Peters Chapel in the Church, or at the Porch ; later oftener in the Falcon (1711) Inn. In 1785 the Steward was John Colborne, and in that year, owing to the frequent scourging with small-pox,[1] it was resolved by the Overseers of the Parish to order a general inoculation. At this period, George III. and his Queen were sometimes tempted to drive up (via. Birdlip) to Cranham and Painswick from the village of Cheltenham. From an interesting entry in the Diary of Thomas Gardner under the year 1788, related by Right Hon. Sir John Dorington Bt. is adduced the following :

" George III., his Queen, and some of his children, visited Cranham or the neighbourhood in July 1788. A very aged woman, who did not know who her visitors were, came from her cottage to the carriage door and presented the old gentleman and his lady with a dish of bright red fragrant woodland strawberries. The old gentleman graciously accepted the welcome present. The dish was quickly cleared of its simple luxury. The old woman stood by for her dish, and curtsied most respectfully and politely when it was returned. The old woman imagined it was the Squire and his family come to live at the great house. As the old woman held out her hand to receive the empty dish, the gentleman said in the most polite and affectionate manner, ' I am very much obliged to you for your great kindness.' ' You be mortal welcome,' replied the old woman, ' but I don't know who ye be—the Squire I spose ? ' ' No, my good woman, I have left my picture on the dish.' "

" The carriage drove back towards Cheltenham, and the woman returned to her cottage. When she put her empty dish upon her cottage table, she saw a ' golden guinea ' glittering on the plate. ' I thought he said he had put his pic'tur on the dish. Well, I never know'd such a thing. This be a

[1] Stroud-end tithing, Ap. 26 1798 ordered that Mr Jenner be paid £1 11 2 (as per bill) for attending the Poor.

THE LODGE (East Side)

THE LODGE. PANNELLED ROOM

facing p. 220

DOVER HOUSE, *Vicarage Street* c. 1730

(*Modern Dairy*)

THE LODGE (c. 1400-20)

pretty pic'tur.' I cannot pretend to give her exact words. I may have copied them, and they may be preserved in my chaotic collection. I have given the shadow if not the substance of the dialogue. His picture or his portrait was on the coin. The old woman was subsequently astonished to find that she had seen ' The King, good old Varmer George.' The expression, ' The King's picture ' was frequently used in my boyhood. An aged gentleman said to me : twenty years ago, whenever I went to public dinners, friends often said, ' Weight, how is it that waiters pay you more attention than they do us ? ' ' It is plain enough. I al'us show 'um the King's pic'tur.' " The Diary gave the name, &c., of the old lady who had ' The King's Pic'tur.'

At Ebbworth the Manor House and farm had passed now from the Fletcher family (which had it from the Raleghs, Cf. p. 89, of Edgworth through the Wood[1] family, of Brookthorpe), into the hands of Stephen Cooke Esq of Abenhall and Leigh, in the Forest of Dene. His son and heir, Thomas Cooke of the Middle Temple almost re-built the house, " as a convenient Mansion-house, in which to reside," in 1722. He possessed several portions of land besides, in Painswick. His sister, Anne Cooke, resided with him at Ebbworth. The house he altered was in part Tudor, and in part, Jacobean, small features of which can be made out with a little scrutiny. He was succeeded at Ebbworth by Robert Ball,[2] Esq., who died in 1760, aged 51. Their armorial slabs, formerly in Chancel are now (since 1883) in the Tower of Painswick Church.

At about the same period, or but little earlier, were built, perhaps by the same architect, the present front of Castle Godwin[3] and Dover House,—the latter, probably, for a Loveday.

[1] In 1636, Silvanus Wood appears on a view of Frank Pledge as Free-tenant of the Manor of Ebbworth, a. 10. Car. 1

[2] High Sheriff, 1748, son of *John Ball* of *Stonehouse Manor*, d. July, 1729, s. of John Ball of London (gent.). The Balls inherited Stonehouse through Mary d. of *Thomas Smythe* (Armiger) d. 1684. She died 1703.

[3] The House did not become called Castle Godwin until the last years of the XVIII century, when the castellated apside was added, probably by Mr John George. The property had been hitherto known as ' Paradise Farm.' The pretty house-front at Castle Godwin was made probably for Mr William Townsend in 1750. His son *Mr Hen. Townsend*, a yeoman farmer of Steanbridge owned *Paradise Farm* until 1768, when he let it to *Charles Sheppard, Esq.*, who died seized of it in 1794. He had lived also in Duchess St., Portland Place, London, and his widow *Isabella* (neé *Higginson*) enjoyed her free-bench. Their son sold the estate in 1807/8 for £4500 to *John Knowles* who wanted it for his nephew *William Knowles Rogers;* whose guardian was *John George* of Cherington. The Knowles family owned *Paradise House* and came here as millers in Painswick and Bourne End. *Damsells* also became theirs by purchase. It continued to be Copyhold and until 1903 was the property of Mrs Selwyn. Miss Higginson above, (Mrs Ch. Sheppard) was dau. of William H. of Frith Street (London), and gt. aunt to the late Genl. Sir George Higginson, K.C.B. They first resided at Lower Holcombe, improved it (c. 1748) and called it Holcombe Hall. She died in Pulteney Street, Bath, (c.) 1811 Holcombe was sold to a family of Hewitt, c. 1804.

In 1794 we may read in Watsons's Gazetteer : " Painswick has markets on Tuesdays : Fairs on Sept. 19 and on Whit-Tuesday. Special Sheep Markets on April 1-3 and the Tuesdays before the feast of St. James and All Saints."

At a vestry meeting in Feb., 1796, Mr Bartlett made an offer to furnish tools, instruct and employ for seven years in the Common Workhouse or in any other suitable place provided by the Parish, all the women and children paupers, who are capable, in the branch of the Pin-trade[1] called Heading. The number was limited to forty. The Parish and Mr Bartlett entered into an agreement. This appears to be the origin of a Pin-trade in Painswick. In the same year a half-guinea reward was offered for information as to any person guilty of defacing any tomb in the Churchyard. In 1799 the Vicarage (then vacant) was ordered to be repaired. It became rebuilt 1827 in the Gothic style and was the house now known as ' The Verlands ' (*ie far-lands*).

In 1807 (April 20), we find Brook House lately was occupied by Nath. Iles Butler with a Cyder-Mill, stable and woodloft. Behind the House were two Ponds well-stocked with carp, trout, tench, and other fishes. Also Cook's Mill.

The present Paradise House belonged until 1794 to *Charles Sheppard*, Esq. and to his son and heir, Will. Charles Sheppard, who, 1807-8, parted with it to *John Knowles* (Clothier) who died Jan. 21, 1809 ; leaving it in trust to his widow and *John George, Esq.*, of Cherrington. The above *Sheppards* came from the *Minchinhampton family of Sheppard.* (But see Playne's " Minchinhampton.") The rear half of Paradise House reveals its date as does the (Strawberry Hill) Gothic of the stables. The front half of the house has been since added, and is of thirty years later. Did the builders intend to raise a then Ionic fashionable porch of marble ? Some owner brought thither three Greek marble (Ionic) Caps, possibly found at Witcombe villa-remains, c. 1840, which were found, two close to the stables, a third painted red was placed to serve (until 1908) as a fountain-base in the pond upon the lawn. The late owners Mr and Mrs W. H. Herbert and their heirs have kindly presented them with the bases of two of them to the Public Museum at Gloucester. Lysons (who was not, however, allowed to complete his task), never found these in his explorations at Witcombe : but he did find Greek marble cornice-moulding (a unique feature in Roman Britain), and the present Mr Hicks Beach (has at the request of the Writer), lent this also to the museum.

[1] Pin-making had, in like manner, been re-introduced in a time of crisis to Gloucester, by John Tilsley, in 1626 ; but it was of earlier origin there.

The Court-House we saw, became tenanted by heirs of the Caruthers family; after which tenancy it was turned into a School for Girls, and finally it passed into the tenure (under the ownership of Mr Wathen) of the late Uriah Davis (a well-known antiquarian here) who kept there for many years a high-class school for boys.

The first and consequently now oldest yew-trees in the Churchyard were planted presumably by the Church-wardens of 1792-4 who offered 10s. reward to anyone informing against damagers of the young yew-trees. Perhaps the ones mentioned by Rudder in 1779 had suffered wilful damage (?) as an innovation or as having caused death to sheep pasturing there? The so-called legend as to the number 99 and the supposed impossibility of counting three alike belongs of old to May Hill Coppice across the Severn. These are represented by but a few trees (of 18 inch diam.) beside the path west from the Tower. The untrimmed rows near the south wall of the churchyard were given by a single family, c. 1837. There is no record of any ancient yew in the Churchyard here: nor the faintest hint of any special local custom save Ringing the Bells. The only ancient yews are at the Lovedays house in Vicarage Street.

The Baptist Church of Painswick was built by Wesleyan Methodists in 1806, and it was used as a Baptist Church only since 1831, under the Rev. W. Hewitt. In 1803 Sir William Jerningham was induced to part with the old Manor to Mr Pitt (of Pittville, Cheltenham), through whom it went to Mr Thomas Croome of Cainscross, whose great grandson Mr A. C. Croome is now the owner. At the sale, however, Mr Edward Jerningham reserved the Manor-Lodge, with its home-farm and 360 acres; all which he retained until 1831. (Sept. 16). The Auction-sheet then describes it as "an ancient mansion of quadrangular Form, with a Court in the centre." It thus somewhat resembled the New Inn at Gloucester, only that it was built of stone more than of timber. It was free from Great Tithes, and the Land-tax was redeemed. With it went 22 acres of woodland, of which eighteen acres were in Longridge. It had been let for £1,000 a year, and it had been customary to pay £4 per vicarial tithes, with a Land-tax in tithes of £1 12s. 7d. Holywell Wood is instanced as measuring 1a. 2r. 31p. and the Lawn, as extensive arable land. The Holy well now supplies it with water.

Mention of the house in 1819 occurs in a diary of Lady Bedingfield, a daughter of Sir William Jerningham Bt. (d. 1854):—"We arrived at Bath, having slept at Petty France (Nr Badminton), we made a long day's journey of it from Cheltenham, because we stopped to see the Roman villas (sic) lately discovered on Sir Wm. Hicks' Estate (Witcombe) on the road to Painswick, and walked down to the Manor House (The Lodge), which my brother

Edward bought with the farm round it when my father sold the estate. *It has been little altered*,[1] bears great marks of antiquity, but never was a grand building. I met in Painswick churchyard the most boldly discontented man I ever conversed with, a cobler, ripe for rebellion, levelling, &c., but he did justice to my father's benevolence. ' He was kind to the poor, nor like the rest of your great ones.' The ground of this old man's discontent appeared to be the persuasion that the clergyman of the place had cheated his wife of a legacy. He was looking over his hedge into the churchyard, which made me ask him if he was the Clerk ? He answered : ' Not he, nor did he known anything of the Church, nor did he want anything.' " It is a pleasure to be able to add that the Lodge has been very judiciously restored and its Tudor hall recovered almost entirely by its present possessors. Further a hopefully conservative spirit has so far successfully struggled except toward Cranham to preserve to Painswick its local style as against *no style* at all, and notwithstanding the total indifference of most petty speculative builders to-day to either character of structure or beauty of Landscape. For these things mean nothing at all to them and yet they assume *their* unassailable right to spoil our Landscape.

And now it is time to finish with this imperfect fragment of local Story. And, as we commenced it on a wintry afternoon upon the moorland Rudge, let us close it, at a different point of beauty and interest, on a summer morning while the clear fresh N.W. wind is driving silvery cloud-hosts over the washed blue sky toward Bisley and Rodborough. Beneath us, in the middle ground of the picture, extends southward the woodland Edge around from the beeches above Sponebed with its slanting farms towards the bluff of Haresfield Beacon with its bronze-Age camp, in one long shaded green line boldly relieved against the far-off Forest of Dene ; the latter in turn misted over with the grayer air of the Severn Valley, whose sky and river knew *Nodens* or *Llud*, for its God, and heard his beneficent voice in the Bore. Still beyond that can be faintly caught the bold wedge of the Black Mountain, where Hugh de Laci was likewise lord-paramount, and under the shadow of which he founded that older Llantony, to which (originally) he gave the Advowson of Painswick. And there, much nearer to us, stands May Hill or Yarcledon, while further north-westward stretch the Alban-like Malvern Hills crowned with their own strongholds whose owners once menaced those of

[1] Between 1840–60 it was, alas, mutilated without mercy by the local factor put over it by Mr Brown its purchaser. This individual destroyed two entire wings including the oratory, and out of the materials built himself a House in the town. The stone he could not use beautifully-squared still tops the wall of Lords Mead in Knap-lane which he acquired.

noble camps nearer at hand upon this side the Severn. But we remind ourselves that the shouts of the warriors and the songs of the bards are heard no more. As Ossian would say, there is no blood upon the grass of the hills. Their ridges no longer resound with battle. The darker rolling woodlands are no longer the hiding-place of the wolf, the felon, and the spy. Painted Goidhels, fair and large-statured Brythons, Gallo-Roman legions and their auxiliaries, fiercer west-Saxon Teutons, the stalwart Danes and their kindred Normans—even the wild music of the Celtic fairies, all have vanished as will presently these fair rushing clouds, leaving the landscape to the kestrel, the wheatear, and the golden bunting—those little kings of the air that are still free tenants of this ancient Manor.

APPENDIX

CALENDAR OF CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS

Richard II. to Elizabeth.

Page lxxvj. William, Lord Berkeley v. Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury. Copy printed of Bill, Answer and Replication. Five folio pages. Mention of the Manor of Wotton and the Countess's son, Lord Lyle, and John, late Viscount Lislez. Temp. Edward iiij.

(Note in Calendar :) These proceedings form but a small part of the litigations which, for a long series of years, were carried on between the noble families of Berkeley and Talbot, and which produced quarrels frequently attended with the most outrageous riots and bloodshed on both sides. These controversies began soon after the decease of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, who died in the fifth year of the reign of King Henry the 5th, leaving an only child, Elizabeth, married to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, whereupon part of the lands legally descended to this Earl, in right of his wife, and the castle and barony of Berkeley, with several manors, etc., to James, nephew to Thomas the last baron, under an entail made by Thomas, his great grandfather. See Smythe's " History of the Berkeley Family," and Dugdale, volume i., p. 362-367.

Page 385. Temp. Elizabeth. G. g. 14, No. 16. Raffe Gyll and Jane, his wife, late wife of George Symons, deceased, and William, the son of said George and Jane, v. Brice Barkley and John Watershippe. Claims under a settlement on marriage. Land in the parish of Wotton-under-Edge, late the estate of James Barkley, Esq., deceased, father of plaintiff Jane, and by him settled, on her marriage with Geo. Symons.

Volume ij., page xxix. Edmond, Duke of Somerset, Alianor, his wife, John, Earl of Shrewsbury, Margaret, his wife, and George Nevill, Lord Latymer, and Elizabeth, his wife, v. William Payn. For the recovery of evidences respecting the Manor of Wotton-under-Edge in the County of Gloucester. Bill printed. Temp. Henry vj.

Index of Chancery Proceedings. Series 2, page 249. Bundle 14, No. 17. Lady Lysle, widow, v. [James Bassett.] Painswick and Moreton Valence, manors of ; Ebley [Epney], Horsley, Stanley-Pontlarge, Stroud-End, Shepcombe, Edge and Edgeworth (fragment). Date, 1558-1579.

PATENT ROLL

21, Richard II., Part 3, Membrane 18.

Pro Priore de Llanthon'.—Rex Omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Sciatis quod de gracia nostra speciali et pro eo quod dilecti nobis in Christo Prior et Conuentus de Llanthon' iuxta Gloucestriam literas nostras patentes per quas eis tenebamur in Centum marcis ab eis ad opus nostrum nuper mutuatis nobis in Cancellaria nostra restituerunt cancellandas concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est eisdem Priori et Conuentui quod ipsi vicarias ecclesiarum sancti Audoeni. Gloucestrie ac Payneswyk et Prestebury Wygorniensis diocesis que quidem vicarie in toto ad vigint' et duas marcas videlicet dicta vicaria sancti Audoeni ad quinque marcas prefata vicaria de Payneswyk ad decem marcas sex solidos et octo denarios, et predictt vicaria de Prestebury ad sex marcas sex solidos et octo denarios taxantur vt accepimus ea quorum quidem ecclesiarum prefati Prior et Conuentus persone existunt et easdem ecclesias in proprios vsus tenent eisdem personalibus et prioratui suo predicto vnire annectere et incorporare et easdem vicarias sic vnitas annexus et incorporatus in proprios vsus tenere possint sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum Iusticiariorum, Escaetorum, Vicecomitum aut aliorum ballivorum sui Ministrorum nostrorum vel heredum nostrorum quorumcumque Statuto

de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante. In cuius, etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium vj. die Maii (A.D. 1398) per ipsum Regem nunciante Duce Surreie.

In return for a Loan of 100 marks, the King (through the Duke of Surrey), at Westminster gives leave to the Prior and Convent of Llantony at Gloucester, to incorporate the three vicarages of St. Owen at Gloucester, and Painswick, and Prestbury (which are taxed respectively at 5 marks, and 10 marks, 6s. and 8d.), to hold them to their own use, in perpetuity.

Cf. p. 22, Hist. Church of St. Mary, at Painswick

SUBSIDY ROLL $\frac{116}{605}$

1626—2 Charles j. April 4. Assessment of the second Subsidy granted 1. Charles j.

HUNDREDUM DE BISLEY

Painswick : Landes

Edwardus Tocknell, generosus	..	..	..	in terris	..	ij li.	..	o	8	o
Thomas Lovedaye	..	..	..	in terris	..	ij li.	..	o	8	o
Samuell Hoson (=Hobson See $\frac{116}{605}$)	..	..		in terris	..	j li.	..	o	4	o
Johannes Osborne de Segrems	..	..	..	in terris	..	j li.	..	o	4	o
Johannes Banknette	..	..	..	in terris	..	j li.	..	o	4	o
Johannes Osborne de Lonckredge	..	..		in terris	..	j li.	..	o	4	o
Heres Ricardi Deane	..	..	..	in terris	..	j li.	..	o	4	o
Ricardus Gardner de Combhowse	..	..		in terris	..	ij li.	..	o	8	o
Jacobus Tayler et Johannes Forte	..	..		in terris	..	j li.	..	o	4	o
Samuell Seaman, Armiger	..	..	..	in terris	..	v li.	..	1	o	o
Ricardus Packer	..	..	..	in terris	..	ij li.	..	o	8	o
		Goodes.								
Edmundus Fletcher	..	..	..	in bonis	..	v li.	..	o	13	4
Thomas Webbe	..	..	..	in bonis	..	v li.	..	o	13	4
Johanna Bishoppe, vidua	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Daniell Pincke	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Willelmus Mayoe	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Willelmus Acson, clericus	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Robertus Rogers	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Thomas Tayler	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Thomas Clissould	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Thomas Blisse	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Johannes Watkins	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Willelmus Osborne	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iiij li.	..	o	10	o
Johannes Russell	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Johannes Kinge	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Ricardus Gardiner	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Thomas Castle	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Willelmus Blisse	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Johannes Winchcombe	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iii li.	..	o	8	o
Willelmus Leigh, generosus	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Willelmus Mayle	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Thomas Wyne	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Thomas Horrup	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
Henricus Mayoe	..	..	..	in bonis	..	iij li.	..	o	8	o
				Summa	..	xiij li.	xvj s.	viij	d.	

SUBSIDY ROLL $\frac{116}{622}$

1641.—17 Charles i. April 5. Assessment of the first two Subsidies granted November 3, 16 Charles j.

HUNDREDUM DE BISLEY.

Painswick.

Edwardus Tocknell, generosus	in terris	j li.	viij s.	
Thomas Loveday	in terris	j li.	viij s.	
Thomas Davis	in terris	j li.	viij s.	
Ricardus Smith	in terris	j li.	viij s.	
Margeria Packer	in terris	j li.	viij s.	
Thomas Packer	in terris	j li.	viij s.	
Thomas Gardiner de Combehouse	in terris	j li.	viij s.	
Thomas Kinne	in terris	j li.	viij s.	
Johannes Banknett	in terris	j li.	viij s.	
Anthonius Gardiner	in terris	j li.	viij s.	
Alicia Taylor et Willelmus Reeve	in terris	j li.	viij s.	
Henricus Webbe	in terris	ij li.	xvj s.	
Robertus Hillman	in terris	j li.	viij s.	
Thomas Blisse de Brownsgreene	in terris	j li.	viij s.	
Walterus Pearce et Joane Osborne	in terris	j li.	viij s.	
Johannes Liggon,[1] generosus	in terris	j li.	viij s.	
Thomas Webbe	in bonis	v li.	xxvj s.	viij d.
Henricus Fletcher	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Willelmus Osborne	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Thomas Bishopp	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Johannes Gardiner de Shepscomb	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Willelmus Acson, clericus	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Georgius Fletcher	in bonis	iiij li.	xxj s.	iiij d.
Willelmus Barnes	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Thomas Blisse de well	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	–
Egidius Feild, generosus	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Johannes Rodway	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Anthonius Poole	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Willelmus Griffin	in bonis	iiij li.	xxj s.	iiij d.
Thomas Clissold	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Johannes Winchcomb, senior	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Egidius Watkins	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Johannes Kinge	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Thomas Horrupp	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Ricardus Gardiner	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Robertus Cooke	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Thomas Castell	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Robertus Rogers	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Henricus Mayo	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
Thomas Winne, junior	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.	
	Summa	..	xxvi li.	iii s.

1. Herrings now Painswick House

SUBSIDY ROLL $\frac{116}{624}$

1641.—17 Charles j. May 8. Assessment of the last two of four subsidies granted November 3, 16 Charles j.

HUNDREDUM DE BISLEY.

PAY[NSWIC]KE.

Edwardus Tocknell, generosus	.. ..	in terris	..	j li.	.. viij s.
Thomas Loveday		in terris	..	j li.	.. viij s.
Thomas Davis		in terris	..	j li.	.. viij s.
Richardus Smith		in terris	..	j li.	.. viij s.
Margarie Packer, vidua		in terris	..	j li.	.. viij s.
Thomas Packer		in terris	..	j li.	.. viij s.
Thomas Gardner de Combe[house ..		in terris]	..	j li.	.. viij s.
Thomas Kynge		in [terris]	..	j li.	.. viij s.
Johannes Banknett		in [terris]	..	j li	.. viij s.
Henricus Webbe		in terris	..	ij li	.. xvj s.
Alicia Taylor		[in terris]	..	j li.	.. viij s.
Robertus Hillman		in terris	..	j li.	.. viij s.
Thomas Blisse de Brownsgreene		in terris	..	j li.	.. viij s.
Johannes Ligon, generosus		in terris	..	j li.	.. viij s.
Joane Osborne, vidna		in terris	..	j li.	.. viij s.
Anthonius Gardner		in terris	..	j li.	.. viij s.
Thomas Webbe		in bonis	..	vj li.	.. xxxij s.
Henricus Fletcher		in bnois	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Willelmus Osborne		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Thomas Bishopp		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Thomas Walker		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
[1]Willelmus Acson, clericus		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Willelmus Barnes		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Georgius Fletcher		in bonis	..	iiij li.	.. xxj s. iiij d.
Thomas Bliss de Well		in bonis	..	j li.	.. viij s.
Willelmus Feild		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Thomas Winne, junior		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Johannes Rodway		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Antonius Poole		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Thomas Clissold		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Willelmus Griffin		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Johannes Whiteing		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Gidius Watkins		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Johannes Kinge		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Thomas Horrupp		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Gidius Harding		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Robertus Cooke		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Thomas Castell		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Robertus Rogers		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
Henricus Mayo		in bonis	..	iij li.	.. xvj s.
[2]Johannes Trye, generosus		in bonis	..	v li.	.. xxvj s. viij d.
Thomas Taylor		in terris	..	j li.	.. viij s.
		Summa		97 li.	£xxviii 8s. od.

1. Vicar of Painswick. 2. Husband of Mrs Seaman, for Court-House.

LAY SUBSIDY ROLL $\frac{116}{526}$

1641.—17 Charles j. November 22. Assessment of the last two of six subsidies granted 3 November, 16 Charles j.

HUNDREDUM DE BISLEY.

Paynswicke.

Johannes Trye generosus	in bonis	v li.	j li. vj s. viij d.
Thomas Webbe	in bonis	vj li.	j li. xij s.
Georgius Fletcher	in bonis	iiij li.	li. j s. iiij d.
Henricus Mayoe	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Henricus Webbe	in terris	ij li.	xvj s.
Thomas Davies	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Margeria Packer vidua	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Ricardus Smithe	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Thomas Packer	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Thomas Gardiner de Combe howse	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Thomas Kynn	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Johannes Banknott	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Alicia Taylor et Willelmus Reeve	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Henricus Fletcher	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Willelmus Osborne	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Thomas Bishopp	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Henricus Gardner de la greene howse	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Johannes Gardner et Walterus Pearce	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Willelmus Ackson clericus	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Willelmus Wantinge	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Willelmus Barnes	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Thomas Blisse de le well (Farm)	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Thomas Taylor de le mill	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Egidius Field (Wick Street House)	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Edmundus Clementes	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Thomas Wynne, junior	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Anthonius Poole	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Thomas Clissold	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Willelmus Griffine	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Johannes Winchcombe, senior	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Egidius Watkins	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Robertus Hillman	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Thomas Blisse de Brownes greene	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Johannes Kinge de le Hill	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Thomas Horrapp	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Ricardus Gardner	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Robertus Cooke	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Thomas Castle	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Robertus Rogers	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
Vidua Osborne et Vidua Burdocke	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Johannes Ligon, generosus	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Johannes Jordan, junior, et Johannes Jordan, senior	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Edwardus Toknell, generosus	in terris	j li.	viij s.
Johannes Rodwaie	in bonis	iij li.	xvj s.
	Summa		xxviii li. os. od.

LAY SUBSIDY ROLL $\frac{116}{644}$ [A.D. 1672].

We, the Minister of the Parish of [1]Painswick, together with the Churchwardens and overseers of the [1]poore of the said Parish, do hereby certifie unto his Majesties Justices of the Peace for the said County[1] That we do believe, that the respective Houses wherein the Persons here under-named do Inhabit, are not of greater value than twenty-shillings per Annum, upon the full improved Rent; And that neither the Person so inhabiting, not any other using the same Messuages hath, usethor occupieth any Lands or Tenements of their own, or others, of the Yearly value of twenty shillings per Annum; Nor hath any Lands or Tenements, Goods or Chattels, of the value of ten Pounds in their own possession, or in the possession of any other in trust for them; And that the said Houses have not above two Chimneys, Fire-hearths, and Stoves in them respectively. Witness our Hands this 3[1] day of June, 1672.[1]

SPOONBED TITHING.

HENRY KNOWLES
JOHN MATHEWS
WIDD DENTON
JOHN GARDNER
WIDD COOKE
DAN KITSON
DAN TWINING
DAN HASELTON
JOHN HILMAN
THO TAYLOR
WM TAYLOR
JAMES CHURCH
JAMES HILMAN
RICH HILMAN

SHEEPSCOMBE TITHING.

STEPH TOWNSEND
WIDD EDWARDS
JOHN CASTELL
JOHN BURDOCK
DAN MILLERD
THO HOBBS
THO WHITING
JOHN MILLERD
JOHN GIBBINS
WM WOOD
HENRY KNOWLES
JOHN WHELER
THO CASTELL
ANNE POOLE

EDGE TITHING.

ROBT POWELL
JOHN OSBORNE
WM KINGE
EDW WILLIAMS
JAMES GRANSOME
THO HOODE
RICH STEPHENS
DAN WRENN
WIDD GARDNER
JOHN COOKE
ROBT DUCKLE
HENRY RIDLER
WM SHORT
MARGT LOWE
WM HOLIDAY
GILES HALLING
HENRY HOLIDAY
RICH HADNUTT
RICH BENTON
WIDD MERRETT
THO JONES
ROBT MOTLEY
JOHN TWINING
JAMES BLANCH
HENRY WHEELER
JOHN HOLDER
RICH PAGE
STEP PAGE

NOTE.—The first eighteen lines of Sheet 1, are in print, except the five words marked in this copy [1]———[1], the word "County" and the numbers 3, 1672, also here marked[1]. The eight words on Sheet 3 marked [2]———[2] are in print except the number 73.

JOHN ASHMEAD
MARY HOLIDAY
JAMES BAYLEY
EDW WATKINS
ELIZ COOKE
HENRY WOOD
HENRY BRYAN

STROUD-END TITHING.

WIDD CLISSOLL
WM JONES
JAMES ELLIS
RICH BLAKENY
WIDD WRENN
HENRY EAGLES
STEPH WATKINS
THO HILMAN
THO WOOD
THO MERRETT

[We Allow of this Certificate containing 73 Names.]

GAB : LOWE
THO SMYTHE
GEORGE DORWOOD, CLERK
STEPHEN GARDENER
JOHN SIDE
} TITHINGMEN

[Endorsed :—] Painswick.

VICARS, PRIESTS, AND CHAPLAINS OF ST. MARY[1] AT PAINSWICK

A.D. 1086. (Wica) DS.—WYKE HAD ITS PRIEST.

1118 (c). HUGH DE LACI, Lord of the Manor, gives the Advowson to Llanthony Abbey (Co. *Monmouth*).

1150 (c). ROGER

1156–65 (?) The Advowson transferred to the 2nd Llanthony, at Gloucester by the Bishop of Worcester.

1205 (c). JOHN, *parson of Wycke*. [*A witness*].

1282. GODFREY.

1283. JAMES *of* PAYNESWYCKE.

1297. JOHN *of* ASTON.

1300. JOHN KEYS.

1374/5. JOHN BORGEYS (*Burgess*) : *sub-deacon*.

1378. JOHN, *who was also Chaplain at Strode*, 1400. PHILIP, RICHARD ; Chaplains. *Re-building commenced at N. aisle by Prior of Llanthony, Glos.* WILLIAM CHERITON (1377–1401) whose sculptured head survives as a removed corbel, belonging to the North aisle. The Mason's head within St. Peter's chapel is still *in site*. [*The other corbels in N. aisle marking the rebuilding represent Richard 2 and his Queen*].[2]

1382. JOHN BUCKE.

1384. GEOFFREY LUTTERWORTH.
SIMON PACKER. WALTER BRAYE : *acolyte*.

1402. JOHN BUCKE. (*as perpetual Vicar*). A side Altar dedicated here to Holy Trinity and All Saints by Nicholas, *suffragan of Worcester*, and *Bishop of Christopolis* (d. 1405).

1410. JOHN NORTON.

1426. JOHN LAUNDER.

1429. JOHN FARTHYNGALE. (*Chaplain*).

1439–40. SIR THOMAS LOMYS (?)

1440. THOMAS BAKER.

[1] *St Peter's Chapel* appears to have been a Founders Chapel, and perhaps it represents the *De Laci* Church ; for the patron of the De Laci was St Peter, and a 12th *cent.* license to rebuild such chapel beside the chancel survives. The Talbot Lords buried in it ; and later, manor-courts were held in it. It had also a side altar to Holy Trinity and All Saints. Mr Henry Jerningham was buried in it (*temp. James.* 1).

[2] K. Richard, May 6, 1398 for a loan of 100 marks granted the Prior the right to incorporate Painswick Prestbury and S Owens (Gloucester) Vicarages. A Church house dedicated to S John became built also, north of the Church.

1489. Robert Myll.

1493 (c). A lady-Chapel (*Chantry*) added to the Chancel and endowed by Walter Collins of Holcombe.

1522–30. Patrick Corbett. (*removed but reinstated*).
William Corbett. (*Chantry Priest*).

1530. David Poole is granted the Patronage by *Prior and Convent of Llanthony, Glos.*

1534. Sir Thomas Pincot. (*Ch. Priest*).
Sir Geo. Aston. (*Curate*).

1538–9. Llanthony Priory suppressed.

1539. Samuel Davys. Patrick Corbett d. 1548.

1548–54. John Williams, LL.D. (*Oct.* 13, 1548). *Pres : by David Poole.*

1551. William Wilson *acted as Minister for this Vicar.* (*His Communicants numbered* 560).

1554–58. Richard Cheyney. B.D. (Bishop *of* Gloucester, 1562–79).

1554–63. Laurence Gase. (*d. Aug. a.* 6 *Eliz.*). *Presented by Q. Mary*).

1564. Walter Jones.

1573. Anthony Higgins. (*Ap.* 11) *resigned.*

1578–9. Arthur Messenger. (*Nov.*) *presented by Henry Jerningham, Esq.*

1578. Maurice Pearse. (*Dec.* 15). *Resigned.* [*Died Jan.* 21, 1579.]

1584. John Bullingham, DD. (Bishop *of* Bristol *and* Glos. *Nov.* 19—*May* 20, 1598). b. at Glos. Advowson given by the Queen to Sir Chr. Hatton.

1579. (c.) James Thomas. (*resigned* 1584).

1589–93. Robert Edwards.

1594–98. Roger Garrould. (*d. Dec.* 12). Advowson passes to Sir Geo. Newport, who sells it.

1599. (*Jan.* 17). Francis Yate. *Presented by Sir Henry Winston Kt.* (*pleno jure*) who, later on, sells the Advowson to trustees, for the Parish. *Resigns.*
(*Curate*) William Acson, his son-in-law

1622–41. William Acson (*removed by Order of Parliament*). The Steeple *added* 1632. Richard Capel (*Curate*).

164½. Thomas Wyld. *Presented by Fr. Heydon.* (*removed* with violence, Dec. 1643).

1644–86. Geo. Dorwood (*Puritan*) *from Newent. d. Dec.* 2, 1686. Royalist assault by Sir Wm. Vavasour with 2 culverin firing the N. aisle and damaging the N. side of the Tower. (1644).

1685–1702. (*Dec.* 3, 1685). SAMUEL ROGERS (by *Sir Robt. Atkyns, Philip Sheppard and Rowland Wood*). A treble bell added 1686. His appointment had to be referred to the King

1702–36. JOHN DOWNES. *Assistant :* Rev. PH. SHEPPARD (*of Minchinhampton*).

1737. (*May* 25) d. 1752. JOHN WILTSHEERE. *Curate* THOMAS RAWLINS, 1740.

1752. JOHN MOSELEY appointed, but living sequestrated owing to quarrels between the Parish presentees : ROBERT RICHARDS (*Curate*) Oct. 19.

1762–94. JOHN MOSELEY. (*Established*). (b. 1711, d. (c.) Oct. 8, 1794). — PITTS, (Curate). May 25, 1765 the Church struck by lightning.

1795–1823. JOHN FEARON. Elected. Living sequestrated owing to litigation. HENRY CAY ADAMS (*Curate*) 1808.

1823–56. ROBERT STRONG (*the last elected Vicar*). Introduced a Clipping-Ceremony 1850–1, belonging exclusively to Easter Monday and still surviving in some Midland and Yorkshire parishes, and made familiar by Hone's well-known description (cf *Every-day book*: Vol 1, 431, 1826). It, however met with no success until the present century, and still stands in no relation to Easter, to which alone it can have historically belonged.
(*Curate*) CHARLES S. E. NEVILLE (1st *Vicar of Shepscombe*, 1821)

1856–68. JOHN ARTHUR BIDDLE. *Living sold by Mr Barnard to trustees,* who presented.

1868–76. HON. PERCY C. WILLOUGHBY.

1876–85. HERBERT MCCREA. (*Restoration begun*, 1879). *His representatives* (1886) *sold the Advowson to Mr Perrins for £5000 ; who presented* his brother-in-law.—.

1885–90. WILLIAM H. SEDDON. *Restoration continued : the Steeple having been struck by Lightning in* 1883.

1890–97. WILLIAM S. GUEST-WILLIAMS.

1897–1915. WILLIAM H. SEDDON (*resigned*).

1917– CECIL HENRY VEREY.

LOCAL FIELD, STREET, AND WOOD NAMES[1]

(1) EDGE

Cudhill
Stockley-Way (a stone-street)
Hillfield
Spoonbed.—Sponbedde
Holcombe
Scanty
Whintle
Little Cuss Horn (5 ac. 3 r. 14p.)
Edge
Huddiknole.—[Huddinal]
Horsepools
Druips
The Moors
Packers
Edgmundstone
Bakers Close
Cherry Hill
Collets
The Folly
Little Noke
Osley
Hillhouse
Cooks
Collins
Penny Croft
Colwell Close
The Styrts
Barcroft
Ifold
Herrings
Great Node
Town Acre
The Pound
Buttgreen
Church Field (and bush)
Broad Riddings
Verney Ground (or close) 7 ac. 3r. 19p. (Nr. Collins)
Blakewell
Paradise (2)
Doreys
The Lagger
The Patch
The Nursery
Haines Green
Moor : *The Moors*
Sy(t)ches (*Le Syches*)
Washbrook
Coombe
Englishill—(*? a Mercian bit of evidence*).
Edgemoor
Gillars-Hill
Ticknells
Foxpen Hole, Wood
Bentcroft
The Parlour
Frog-hole

(2) SHEPSCOMBE

Cross Hays
Pump-Wood
Win Mead
Hellridge
Poppets
Tradwell Moors
Town Wood
Fostons Ash
Brians
Rown Ham
Russell
Shadwell
Cuphouse
Ellerne-Hill.—[Elder-tree]
Cockshoot
Queens Wood (acre)
Lords Wood
Longridge
Brooklands
Barepyne
Skippetts
Flockmill
Jacks Green (Hangmans)
Hither-Field
Far-Field
Clissolds

[1] The List (in the main) dates 1838 ; so the story told of Mr R. Robinson after 1844-50 having been the cause of the name-change of the '*Adam and Eve*' (P.H.) cannot be correct. '*Godehurst*' was a wood near *Paradise-house*, well-known for centuries as belonging to the estate. (*See foot of next page*)

SHEPSCOMBE—continued

Holywell
Butlers Grove
The Grange
Tithing-Man's Acre
Saltridge
Saltbox
Deer-Leaps
Ebbworth
The Lodge (*Manor*)
Hazelhanger
Pill-House
Stattinger
Detcombe
Bunnage
Culverwell
Crump Field
Wolley
Braze Hill
Bull(s) Cross[1]
The Dell
The Bladders
Highgrove
Northbarrow (*Ebbworth*)

(3) SLAD & STROUD-END

Slad
Vatch
Knapp Farm
Abbots Farm (S. Peter's Glouc.)
Pine Point
Yoke House
Roman Tump
Custom Scrubs
Nottingham Scrubs (Sir Wm. N. 1484)
Fennels Wood
Proud Grove
Stean Bridge
The Frith (wood)
Combebank
Wades
Peghouse
Uplands
Browns Hill & Green
The Culls [Culvers]
The Grove (Capels)
Well Farm [Blisses]
Wick Street
Stepping-Stone
[Rackhill]
Batcombe
Juniper Hill
Folly Lane
Wickridge Hill
Tillock Field
Dutch Coombe
Doddscombe
[Twynnings Hill]
Quillet Piece
Green House [*i.e.* House by the Green
Wood[ville]
The Guns
Brookhouse
[Ticlestone Lane]

(4) PARADISE

Tocknells
Tinsons Lanes (properly Laines) (cf Kyngston's Leynes)
Olivers
The Pen
Damsels
Lyncombe (Farm)
Paradise
The Withies
Sandpitts
Godwyn
Godehurst (*a woodland*)
Wodhammead
Great Home Knowle
Rackleaze
Witcomb
Well Grove
The Lotts
Jakes Mead
Round Grove
Beards Grove
Splash Meadow
Perry Field
Hilmans
Adam & Eve Inn [Formerly *The Plough*, c. 1830] and *Coach & Horses*
Kimsbury
The Pyramis (*r. barrow*)

[1] Early deeds give *Bulcross* without 's' possessive

PARADISE—continued

Eddels Lane
Idelbury (a Barrow in Prinknash)
Prinkenash
Madams Wood
Popes Wood (Pope lived c. 1270)
Catbrain Quarry
Clatter Grove
Washwell (a tithing)
The Park
Bortons Mill (16th c. by Highgrove)

(5) PAINSWICK AND STROUD

Blademead
Whitewall (*now* Hall)
Stamages
The Ell
Symons
Reeds Mill
Tibbywell (or once spelled) Towy-well
Friday Street (1429)
St Mary Street
{Bisley Street
{High Street
Ludloes
Vicarage Lane
Barnet Street or North Street
Ludloes, *i.e.*, The Verlands
The Cross
Kemp Lane
Knapp Lane
New Street (date c. 1420)
Ham
{Lullingworth
{Lullingwell
Hambutts
Broadham
Dryknapps (next Lullingworth : above it)
Sheephouse (the)
Seagrims (Saw-Mill of Ayers)
Jenkyns Farm
Lammas Lane
Kings Mill
The Eagle (Inn)
Half-Way House
Mandevilles
Ragg[1] Castle
Callowell
The Plain
Rockmill
Pitchcombe
Stockend
Rudge
The Funk
Cliffwell (i.e. *Holywell*)
Hallidays Wood
Broadbarrow Green
Ruscombe
Stoken Hill
Catwood
Randwick
Whiteshill
Bread Street
Ludlow Green
Hammonds
Salmons
Stratford
Beech Ash Green [Beeches]
Merry Walks (Muddy)
Lansdown
Bowbridge
Stroud—Badbrook
Caldrich Street
(1778) Brownshill

Field-Names

Merry Field Acre, nr. Hammond's Grove
Scarr-piece
Far-well
Ban Croft
Further-street field
Hither Street

[1] This house probably represents *a manor-house of Pitchcombe*. It has two XVc. turret-stairs and has been once far larger. (c. 1480). [The lane is relatively quite modern.]

(6) CRANHAM

(From the Tithe-Map)

Upper and Lower Bodnams
Salridge Wood
Nutwells
Long Down
Haw Field
Dunley Grove
Pucks Close
Hewers Head
Whirley
Overtown or Upper-Town
Larks Close
Hitchings
The Crib
Townsends
Dunley Field
Wortley Piece
Frankiss's Piece
Mans *Court* (a Farm)
Buckholt (wood)
Crayfield
Broad Moor
Ashcroft
Berringtons
Hockells
Langnett
Birdlip Leaze
The Reddings
Broadridge (also Brotheridge)
Masons Piece
Howdens Piece
Far Field
Benhall Orchard
The Combs
Colly Hill
Withy Bed
Bucks Head Piece
Crow Field
Deep Whitley
Maddocks Patch
Batch (Farm)
Hungerfield
Dead Man's Piece
Horseley
Ladlecomb (Fish-ponds included, *i.e.* *Ledencomb* (c) 1240)
Elseley Piece & Copse
Simmonds Piece[1]
The Grattans, *i.e.* stubble lands
The Tyning
Glidewell
The Hales (Pasture)
Stoney Close
Ashlers Knop
Cold Bath
Hill Cot
Climper Well Wood
Lawless Downs
The Barrows
Fostons Hill (Ash)
Haregrove
Bydfield

1838.—Prices

		s.	d.	
Wheat	..	7	0¼	per Bushel.
Oats	..	2	0	
Barley	..	3	11½	

Payed £162 to the owner of the Tithes, in lieu of them.
Joseph Pitt,[2] Esq. Lord of the Manor (*of Cranham*)
Rev. Will : Moore.

[1] [Symmonds Hall] burnt out c. 1917. A 16th c. House. Mr *Dyer Edwards*, at my advice, took out a fine stone fire-place (c. 1430-50). It greatly resembled one already at Prinknash of that date.

[2] This is Mr Pitt of 'Pittville,' Cheltenham.

A FEW TERMS IN COMMON USE AT PAINSWICK

BIRDS

Screech=Swift.
Yuckle or Eekle =Green Woodpecker.
Maggot=Magpie.
Muff-Robin=Golden-Crest.
Lennard=Linnet.
Felt=Fieldfare.
Queest=Wood Pigeon.
Veldwer=Fieldfare.
Mum-Ruffin=A Tomtit.
Sugg & Isug=Hedge-Sparrow (O.E.)
Stretch=Missel-Thrush.
Buck=The Cuckoo.
Stare=Starling.
Screechers=Swifts.

Werret=A Wart.
Kipe=A Bushel. (70 lbs. of Potatoes).
Ackern=Acorn.
Holt=An Earth.
Lezzory=White-Beam-Tree
Ayfer=Heifer.
Oont and Woont=A Mole (Welsh : Mwnt).

May-Jolt=A See-Saw.
Tump=A Hillock.
Emmet=Ant.
Vive an' varty Yere.
Varmer
Reremouse=A Bat.
Twud=Toad.
Fitchel=Ferret.
Yappern=Apron
Urchin=Hedgehog (Fr. Hérisson).
Effock=Newt.
Ver for Far is used
Wunst=Once
Warth=a Flat Meadow by water.

Chur and Churn=A Stone Passage or Alley.
Ellern=Elder.
Bethwind=Convolvulus.
Nast=Dirty Land, Weedy.
Moocher=Blackberry.
Nubblins=Small Coal.

Mop=A Hiring-Fair
Mumping=Polite Begging on Dec. 21 (until 1915) (St. Thomas).

THE VILLAGE STOCKS (April 1st., 1922)

There was a time yon windows viewed
the parish stocks across the street,
next the churchyard ; where often stood,
roped to a post, a village cheat,
bare-backed ; who, while old Bob did thrash,
responded howling to the lash.
And, had we lived in those harsh days—
perchance, not cared—not then, I fear,
had our ears thought it vile to hear
the dreadful music of the place.

II.

But times have changed. Twixt me and you,
(In nineteen-hundred and twenty-two,
when such a churchyard knows no ghost),
the sight of stocks or whipping-post
no longer makes the villain quake !—
To-day, instead, with jibes and mocks
the little girls let loose from school,
with blobs of snow and sweepings make
a snow-man sitting in the stocks
to be an April-Fool !

IN MEMORY (1919)

(Thomas Hollister Short.)

What's up wi' Painswick folk to-day,
wi' everything sa grim and gray ?
There's Gloster Street that turns up hill
beyond the ' Star,' quite dull and still !
Folks' knockers 'a got bits o' felt,
an' shavin's fro' the master's shop
do gi' the creakin' wheels a stop,
and take the day so softly by,
as tho' the winter snow did lie
outside the quiet house instead
too near those hearts beside his bed !
It's drear with Painswick folk to-day ;
Tom Hollister's a-goin' away.

II.

And, if you look down Bisley Street,
there are no clatterin' children's feet,
but all a kind o' strange discreet
where summer-time gi's most to do !
Smith Andrews' corner's quiet, too :—
" That horse can wait a bit to shoe !"
The Ringers—his old friends right leal,
won't ring to-night their practice-peal
but let the ropes that knew his power
hang slack 'ithin the silent tower.
They'd ring for joy an they could stay
the hand o' Death that steals away
the handsome face—the kind blue eyes,
that wur not meant to be his prize :—
so, more than these, just quietly great,—
the honest workman, trained and straight.
That's what's awry wi' folk to-day,—
Tom Hollister's a-goin' away.

III.

And now, tho' lost to our regard,
they've laid him in that old churchyard,
where's folk, uncounted years of eld,
their honoured neat-railed vault have held,
afore them untrimmed yews concealed
the vale below the Court-house field ;
just close to where old Brian's hid
'neath his plain Roman pyramid,—
as carved them grand old table-tombs
wi' cherub's heads, and twists, and plumes,
more nor a hundred years agone,
to make us proud o' Painswick Stone !
But they're mere stone. Since then we've known
the flowers on Tom's low grave so gay
that even upon a shiverin' day
you'd think the summer'd come to stay
coz honest Tom had passed that way !

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